A Manual for Dialect Research in the Southern States

second edition

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The University of Alabama Press
University, Alabama

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ISBN 0-8173-0502-5

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 72-619722

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Manufactured in the United States of America

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PREFACE

Fieldworkers and other interested students of linguistic geography have often suggested that it would be useful to have an explanation of field procedures and a description of the historical context of large-scale projects before the findings of the research are published. Atlas handbooks are important contributions to dialectology, but they regularly appear with the finished work, such as the one prepared by Kurath, Bloch, and others for the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* and the works in progress by McDavid and Davis for the *Linguistic Atlas of the Middle Atlantic and South Atlantic States* and by Allen for the *Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest*. Since the LAGS Project covers the largest geographical area ever undertaken within the structure of conventional American dialectology, it is reasonable to assume that the field work will take some time to complete and that a considerable number of investigators will ultimately be involved in the collection of data. This manual, then, is prepared for those who will do that research and for others who are interested in the aims and methods of the LAGS Project.

At the 1970 Annual Convention of the NCTE in Atlanta, Raven I. McDavid, Jr., taped a six-hour commentary on American atlas work sheets with particular attention to the items investigated by Guy S. Lowman, Jr., and himself in the Middle and South Atlantic States. This tape was later used by all regular fieldworkers--C. William Foster, Anne Malone, Lee Pederson, and Christine Unger--and by student interviewers in various Gulf States locations. Because that tape provided the example of the most experienced fieldworker in America, explaining how he investigated individual items in the worksheets and, thereby, clarifying precisely what kinds of information are sought under a given

item, the demand for the tape was so great as to recommend a written transcription of that record.

The introductory essays outline the aims and methods of the LAGS Project and the relationships of that research to general linguistics, American dialectology, folklore study, and the teaching of English. These are followed by the complete text of the work sheets with the interviewing techniques used by Raven I. McDavid, Jr., in several Atlas projects, supplemented by those used by Bernard Bloch, Guy S. Lowman, Jr., and Rachel S. Harris in New England and by Lee Pederson in the Gulf States. The maps, the list of counties, the index to the work sheets, and the vowel and consonant tables are included as appendices to assist LAGS fieldworkers.

No attempt is made in this preliminary edition of the manual to provide instructions in either impressionistic phonetics or the full range of problems involving the tape recorder. If readers of this version indicate an interest in those matters, we will surely include appropriate chapters, together with an instructional tape for phonic identification, in a revised edition. For the time being, LAGS fieldworkers will continue to follow Chapter IV, "The Phonetic Alphabet and Other Symbols" by Hans Kurath in the *Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England*, Hans Kurath *et al.*, with an introductory essay and a map index by Raven I. McDavid, Jr., and Audrey R. Duckert, 2nd ed., AMS Press, 1972, and the tapes and transcriptions available in the LAGS Collection at Emory University. The following suggestions of Virginia McDavid, Raven I. McDavid, Jr., and Alva L. Davis in their "Preface to the Second edition" of *A Compilation of the Work Sheets of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada and Associated Projects*, University of Chicago Press, 1969, are strongly recommended:

1) He should be sure that questions are asked that elicit, insofar as the topics are relevant to the local culture, all the desired responses. If he does not try to transcribe simultaneously, he must make notations on some sort of scoring sheet.

2) Better yet, even if he is unable to get exhaustive phonetic detail, he should transcribe as much as possible during the interview without interrupting the flow of discourse. It is far easier to fill in the details of a broad transcription than to take all the evidence off cold tape. Besides, even the best recorder sometimes fails to work, and some informants who will accept the fieldworker's notebook will balk at mechanical recordings.

3) In listening to the tapes of interviews, the investigators should examine carefully the undirected statements of the informant, including anecdotes and casual remarks. Such spontaneous utterances provide valuable evidence on an informant's natural usage, especially in matters of grammar.

4) In conducting the interview, the investigator should not assume that the tape recorder makes it possible to shorten materially the time of an interview. If the interviewer tries conscientiously to get responses--and if he does not try, he vitiates the purpose of the interview--it is doubtful if he could work faster than the interviewers who have proceeded in the traditional manner; some of them have completed the long work sheets in as little as four hours, the short ones in two. Moreover, the very anecdotes which slow up the interview provide evidence not only on conversational usage of items in the work sheets, but also on syntax and suprasegmentals and paralanguage, to say nothing of local history and folklore. In short, the fieldworker must always use the work sheets in a situation which approximates as closely as possible everyday conversation between two people interested in a common topic.

The vowel and consonant tables are reproduced with the permission of the American Council of Learned Societies and the AMS Press, publishers of the *Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England*, Second Edition (1972). We express appreciation to Clyde St. Romain and his staff of the Georgia State University Media Center for the preparation of the maps for the LAGS area. We also wish to thank A. L. Davis for permission to borrow extensively from the work sheet compilation he edited with the McDavids, the Research Foundation of the National Council of Teachers of English, and the Emory University Research Committee for their ongoing support of this work, and, especially,

Barbara Respess, Bill McAdams, and Lynn Dorman for their help in typing the manuscript and the School of Education of Georgia State University for its financial assistance in the publication of this manual.

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Atlanta, Georgia
May 19, 1972

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The publication of this edition is an opportunity for us to revise the manual in accordance with recent developments in the LAGS Project, to correct the original copy, and to express appreciation for the support that makes the program possible. In the interest of economy, all of that is summarized here in the preface; only minor corrections have been made in the text. Detailed explanations of the substantive revisions will appear in *American Speech* and *Orbis*, with the present overview offered as a guide to the aims and implications of this text and the project for which it was prepared.

Current field work in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee recommends a major revision in the research design. After testing the work sheets through 25 interviews in Birmingham, Atlanta, Jackson, Chattanooga, and Knoxville, we now have a better understanding of the requisites for adequate sampling of the urban lexicon in these Southern states. We are now developing supplementary lexical material for the investigation of urban speech, based on those categories outlined in McDavid's "The Second Round in the Dialectology of North American English" (1960) and Pederson's "An Approach to Urban Word Geography" (1971) and consistent with the regional speech of the Middle and Lower South. Additional work sheets will be organized in consultation with other students of American urban speech, whose suggestions we welcome, directly. The investigation of urban communities, however, will be deferred until the rural sample has been completed in all eight states, including the entire state of Arkansas and all of Texas east of the Grand Prairie and south of the Edwards Plateau. Then a survey of other communities will begin by investigating speech

in the types of communities identified in "Southern Speech and the LAGS Project" (1971).

Another revision should also be mentioned here, but this is merely a note of clarification. Since all LAGS interviews are recorded in their entirety on magnetic tape, the functional definition of the term field record in this survey means the complete tape recording made in the field. The phonetic transcription and marginal notes made from the field record in an initial systematic audition comprise a protocol, an index for subsequent auditions of the tapes. Although the protocol will provide the essential material for the composition of the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States, these forms hold only a small fraction of the data gathered and stored for future retrieval. With the corpus defined in this way, the experimental and descriptive possibilites of the program are considerably enlarged, but so are the responsibilities of the investigator in the field, upon whose skills and patience rest the ultimate success of the survey.

In that regard, a useful reading for LAGS interviewers is W. R. Van Riper's "Shortening the Long Conversational Dialect Interview" in L. M. Davis, ed., *Studies in Honor of Raven I. McDavid, Jr.* (1972). Although we have no interest in abbreviating the duration of any interview as a matter of course, we strongly recommend Van Riper's suggestions: the development of the field interview from a initial session of free conversation, followed by a careful audition of the tape before returning to complete the field record. This method is consistent with the approach outlined in our text (especially, pp. 45-8) and, reinforced with generalized cues or "shotgun questions," as McDavid calls them, Van Riper's procedure is an effective means of improving the conversational quality of

interviewing under normal circumstances and of efficiently saving time when it becomes a factor.

Shotgun questions--conversational stimuli, initiators, or openers--can be introduced at any point in the interview, and indeed they should be, especially at any time the interviewer finds himself talking too much. Several particularly productive cues are these: "How did you used to build a fire?" (109); "What kinds of buildings do you have on the farm?" (114); "What kinds of animals do you keep?" (134-7); "What kinds of things are made with corn meal?" (143-4); "What were some of the events that brought people of the community together?" -- to open discussions of weddings, co-operative parties (e.g., corn-shuckings and barn-raisings), and funerals. Similar questions relating to cooking utensils, bedding, land and soil types, varieties of flowing water and land elevations are also useful, providing an effortless source of considerable information.

Another matter of clarification concerns the use of the sample questions. As stated elsewhere, these are intended to assist an interviewer in better understanding the information sought and to provide examples of ways the data can be elicited. The sample questions are not to be read aloud mechanically by the interviewer. When they are used, however, follow McDavid's suggestions first. They reflect the broadest experience with Southern speech. Similarly, Pederson's questions are often useful in the examination and interpretation of semantic problems. Occasionally, the questions of Bloch, Harris, and Lowman will be useful, but often they are better suited for the investigation of New England dialects.

Finally, the publication of this edition of the manual is a good occasion for us to thank the National Endowment for the Humanities for its generous

support and to reaffirm our appreciation of the efforts of all participants in the project, especially the work of our regular investigators, Barbara Rutledge, Ann Dunlap, and Edward Crist. We are also especially grateful to Betty Yarborough for her invaluable assistance in typing revisions for this edition.

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November 1, 1973

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LAGS PROJECT

Lee Pederson

The Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States (LAGS) Project is a survey of regional and social dialects in eight Southern states. This investigation of native American English aims to gather systematically contrastive data to complement research already finished in the Atlantic and North Central States and to provide the foundations for a coherent description of colloquial speech in that area of the Lower South dominated by the Gulf Coastal Plains. The backgrounds and the plan of this project are summarized here in order to indicate the precedents and to clarify the range, aims, and methods of the work to be done in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Texas.

As a general dialect survey, the LAGS Project is a very deliberate extension of systematized common sense to the study of linguistic variation. Casual observations, intuitions, and personal feelings about speech differences are replaced by orderly procedures for the collection, analysis, and description of linguistic data because clearly defined methods of investigation necessarily precede verifiable generalizations in work of this kind. Dialectology, then, is an application of descriptive linguistics which differs more from structural studies in immediate aims and specific procedures than in ultimate goals. In the last analysis, all work in descriptive linguistics seeks to characterize that system which is language.[1]

As in every other application of descriptive linguistics, dialectology faces the constant interplay between linguistic form and linguistic substance. The terms *language*, *dialect*, and *idiolect* identify formal concepts (abstractions) which are realized substantively in speech. In this sense, *language* is a system of patterned symbolic behavior, the purpose of which is interpersonal communication and the formation of which includes all conventionalized habits of interpersonal communication shared by the members of a social organization.[2] From this perspective, the terms *dialect* and *idiolect* are to be understood as refinements within the *language construct:*

> *Dialect* is an abstraction of the same sort as language; as it covers fewer people, it enables one to keep one's statements closer to the actual speech of the speakers; each abstracted element in the description of a dialect covers a less wide range of actually different phenomena. The number of dialects to be recognized within a language is clearly not fixed in advance; it depends on the fineness of the scale on which the linguist is working; the smaller each dialect is taken to be and therefore the greater the number of dialects distinguished, the more precise each description can be, as each generalization will cover a smaller range of divergence. In such circumstances dialects will fall into successively larger groups of dialects, the largest group being the language itself as an entity. The lower limit of a dialect division

comes down to the individual speaker, and for this limiting case of dialect the term *idiolect* (the speech habits of a single person) has been coined.[3]

More specifically, a general dialect survey seeks to identify those speech forms which characterize the observed *idiolects*, the patterns of speech which distinguish individual speakers, and then to establish the patterns of linguistic similarities and differences among these individual speakers in terms of *dialects*. These include *regional dialects*, the patterns of speech which distinguish groups of speakers who share geographical territory, and *social dialects*, the patterns of speech which distinguish groups of speakers who share social characteristics.

Regional dialects are determined by recurrent speech differences which are mapped and indicated by *isoglosses*, demarcations which limit the areal range of particular linguistic features, including phonetic, phonemic, morphological, syntactic, and lexical forms. Each demarcation, or isogloss, indicates a distributional feature, and, when several of these lines merge, an *isogloss bundle* is identified to mark the external limit of a regional dialect.[4] Within such delimited regions, three kinds of dialect areas are often found; these are *focal, relic,* and *graded areas*. The interrelationships among isoglosses and dialect areas have been characterized by McDavid in this way:

> The number and distribution of the isoglosses determine the kind of dialect area set off. If the isoglosses are bunched rather closely together at a fairly even distance from a major cultural center (a single city like Boston or Philadelphia or a group of interdependent cities like Fredericksburg, Richmond, and Petersburg in Virginia) and forms seem to be spreading outward from the center, we have a *focal area*. If the isoglosses do not group together and the area lacks an important cultural center, so that forms seem to be receding inward, we have a *relic area*. If the area lacks sharply defined characteristics of its own but shares characteristics of two or more adjacent areas, we have a *graded area* or a *transition area*.[5]

Social dialects also reflect cultural influence, but these patterns, as well as the factors determining them, are found within the social structure. Unlike regional dialects which are usually interpreted on a single plane, social dialects are invariably multiple, reflecting such characteristics as age, education, neighborhood, occupation, parental origins, sex, social class, and social caste.[6] Each idiolect can usually be characterized as a member of a set of idiolects which comprise a regional dialect, but each idiolect must also be characterized as a composite of several social factors which, when taken together, comprise a social idiolect. Only when genuinely comparable social idiolects are combined is it possible to speak meaningfully about social dialects.[7]

In addition to all of these considerations, a general dialect survey must also be sensitive to *situational styles* or *registers*.[8] By limiting the investigation to the colloquial speech of certain regional and social types,

one can anticipate several stylistic parameters, but the problem of style is much more complicated than that.[9] The full context of the linguistic situation involves the entire complex of activity related to interpersonal communication at a given point in time, and, although dialectology today cannot be expected to engage this totality in a meaningful way, thoughtful interviewing, careful field notes, accurate phonetic transcriptions, and high quality electronic recordings will lay a foundation for future work.[10]

I

Although scholarly investigations of regional speech began several hundred years ago,[11] the backgrounds of the LAGS Project are summarized here with particular attention to four major atlas programs, as well as to a number of related surveys which have contributed to the development of the current research in the Gulf States. These atlases represent the works initiated by Wenker in Germany, Gilliéron in France, Jaberg and Jud in Italy and Rhaeto-Roman Switzerland, and Kurath in the United States. In addition to these general dialect surveys, which include all other regional atlases of American English developed from the Kurath model, the large-scale projects of Cassidy in regional lexicography, Davis in structural dialectology, and Duckert in diachronic dialectology need to be mentioned because all of these efforts, however different in their approaches, share a common goal and influence the organization of the LAGS Project in their separate ways.

The inception of modern dialectology is conveniently dated at 1876, the year Georg Wenker began work on the *Sprachatlas des deutschen Reiches*, which was later entitled *Der Deutsches Sprachatlas* when publication began 50 years later in 1926.[12] Trained in the Neogrammarian school of German philology, Wenker undertook his project with the assumption that German folk speech would provide data to confirm the central hypothesis of Brugmann and the other *Junggrammatiker*, "Every sound change, inasmuch as it occurs mechanically, takes place according to laws that admit no exceptions."[13] Although his methods were imperfect for the plan he implemented and although his organizational skills were totally eclipsed by the efficient genius of Gilliéron, Wenker accomplished much through his uncompromising attention to a careful plan with close details.

Wenker distributed a set of 40 sentences to schoolmasters in 40,736 districts and then asked teachers to examine the texts, which were written in literary language, and to transcribe them with a kind of "dialect spelling" which reflected the local peculiarities of speech in the districts. With this scheme he established a dense coverage (44,251 records when all were counted) and the closest network of communities ever organized in a large-scale project. Some limitations of the project emerged from certain related facts: 1) the schoolmasters had uneven skills in recognizing and recording linguistic differences; 2) without a highly refined system of phonetic notation, designed to accommodate all types and modifications of phonation, the recordings were necessarily crude; 3) without a fieldworker on hand to explain, clarify, and interpret the field instrument, it was impossible to evaluate the findings with much accuracy. The editorial problems of processing and

describing nearly two million sentences without the financial and technological resources of the present era were complicated enough to extend the project through several generations of German dialectologists.

Despite its slow progress, as well as the paucity of phonological, morphological, and lexical material (all of which has been supplemented by later efforts), the work of Georg Wenker and his successors, especially Ferdinand Wrede and Walther Mitzka, is a monumental achievement. The indirect method of questioning is now recognized as a productive source of lexical evidence, the German project has become a virtual national institution, the generative force of dialectology within the scholarly community was given direction, and a baseline for subsequent dialect research was clearly established.[14]

Organized along lines very different from those of his German forerunner, Jules Gilliéron introduced the direct method of field investigation for *L'Atlas linguistique de la France* (ALF). In 1880, 17 years before the fieldwork for the ALF Project began, Gilliéron published a study of the local dialects spoken in and around the village of Bas-Vallis in the Rhône Valley. In that survey and in all subsequent work throughout his career, he insisted on firsthand fieldwork in the investigation of local speech. Recognizing the need of a capable assistant, a "full time fieldman" in Kurath's words, Gilliéron enlisted the cooperation of Edmond Edmont, who had already distinguished himself as a very good amateur phonetician, lexicographer, and dialectologist and who, in the end, did all the fieldwork for the ALF Project.[15]

The ALF questionnaire included approximately 1400 words and phrases when the investigation began in 1897, but that number was enlarged to approximately 1920 by the time the survey was completed in 1901. The items were selected to investigate folk speech in terms of its essential character, its foreign and domestic sources, and its pronunciation. The items were arranged to provide a conversational situation for the interview, which remains to this day the best and most productive method of investigating pronunciation and syntax. Gilliéron was also concerned with investigating the multiple senses of words, discovering new words and the senses of those words, and enlarging the semantic fields of terms already included in the French lexicon. In addition to the isolated words and phrases, the questionnaire included approximately 100 sentences which were useful in providing contexts for morphological and syntactic inquiry, particularly those matters concerning inflection. More important to Gilliéron, however, was the investigation of words in contexts, and he seemed to have a better understanding of this problem than most linguists who went before him and more than a few who have come after him.

The ultimate selection of communities was made by Edmont, who cycled from village to village. Gilliéron decided to ignore urban speech because he felt the local dialects were lost in the cities and chose instead one thousand equidistant points on a map of France. The 639 locations in which Edmont actually conducted interviews were chosen on the basis of his judgment. In approximately 500 instances, Edmont interviewed a single informant; elsewhere he added information from auxiliary informants--in two communities including the speech of four native speakers. Of the 700 persons interviewed, only 60 were women, and half of this number were auxiliary informants. The age of the

informants ranged from 15 to 85, with a fairly even distribution of approximately 50 speakers to each of the 14 five-year age groups in which they were finally arranged. The informants were classified by Gilliéron according to occupation and education: approximately 200 were well-educated ("the local intellectuals") and approximately 500 were without much formal education ("the folk speakers").

Including 1920 maps, ALF was published in 35 fascicles (1902-10), and, in 1912, Gilliéron and Edmont published the tables and indices. Eight years later, in 1920, the supplementary material gathered by Edmont in the field was published as a separate volume. The achievement of Gilliéron and Edmont, their methodology and their performance, ranks among the few genuinely great accomplishments in descriptive linguistics, not the least of which was the establishment of the direct method as a highly sensitive approach to dialect study and the scholarly model for the work which was to follow their lead in Europe and in the United States.[16]

The project undertaken by Gilliéron's disciples, Karl Jaberg of Berne and Jakob Jud of Zurich, was to become the most important and influential precursor of American dialectology as formalized by Hans Kurath. Their *Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz* (SSIS), published in eight volumes (1928-40), was a project which extended over almost three full decades; delayed by financial difficulties, interrupted by war, and impeded by Italian nationalism; the work was nevertheless completed and a very significant contribution to general dialectology was made.

In the Rhaeto-Romanic-speaking area of Southern Switzerland, especially in the canton of Grisons, and in the Italian-speaking areas to the south, *viz.*, all of Italy, Sardinia, and Sicily, the dialectal and ethnographic research included important innovations to both theoretical and applied aspects of dialectology. Given the long delay, Jaberg and Jud had time to develop an excellent questionnaire, which went through four revisions, ultimately using three different kinds of work sheets to attack different kinds of problems in different ways.[17] Furthermore, they recognized the necessity of exploring the history of artifacts, as well as the history of words. Also, they introduced the procedure of using a corps of fieldworkers: Paul Scheuermeier conducted 311 interviews in Switzerland, North Italy, and Central Italy; Gerhard Rolfs did 81 more in South Italy and Sicily, and Max Leopold Wagner completed the survey with 20 records from Sardinia. Finally, because Italy was not dominated by a single cultural center, Jaberg and Jud extended their investigation into urban places to demolish once and for all the related fictions that *dialect* means *folk speech* and that *folk speech* means *rural speech*. As a result of time for speculation, the experience of previous programs, the emergence of modern linguistics, and a deep concern for the importance of empirical investigation, Jaberg, Jud, and their fieldworkers made many valuable insights into the problems of data-gathering and clearly advanced the progress of dialectology beyond the remarkable level of efficiency already established by Gilliéron.

SSIS includes 1705 maps in eight volumes and an additional volume containing the ethnographic information with 427 wood engravings and 331 photographs. Subsequent developments in anthropology have tended to separate the work of ethnography and linguistic geography, but the pioneering efforts of

Jaberg and Jud stand behind Kurath's abiding concern for *Wort und Sache* (his deep interest in artifacts and the relationship of words to these things), as well as providing the precedent for multiple sets of work sheets, teams of fieldworkers; and the investigation of urban and rural places in a regional survey.[18]

The *Linguistic Atlas of New England* (LANE) Project combined the best features of its predecessors and established a standard of excellence for all the American dialect research which has been done during the past three decades. Like Wenker and Wrede's project in Germany, Kurath's work became a model for regional dialect research in the United States and stimulated interest which led to the organization of several important projects and to the publication of an impressive series of works on American English.[19] Positioned squarely in the Gilliéron tradition, the LANE Project incorporated the central tenets of dialectology instituted in ALF:

1. A network of selected communities.
2. Representative local informants in each community.
3. A questionnaire of selected items.
4. Interviewing by trained investigators.
5. Interviewing in a conversational situation.
6. Recording of responses in finely graded phonetics.[20]

In addition to matching the best qualities of all the preceding work, the LANE Project was fortunate to have a director who shared that organizational genius of Gilliéron, and, despite the Great Depression and World War II, Kurath and his associates completed the fieldwork in two years (1931-33) and within another decade had the entire atlas published (1939-43).

After a full decade of preliminary planning and discussion,[21] the LANE staff met for their final training in conjunction with the Summer Institute of the Linguistic Society of America (July-August, 1931). Jud and Scheuermeier joined them and "... on the basis of their experience in speech mapping in Italy and Switzerland discussed the aims of linguistic geography and demonstrated the methods of fieldwork."[22] In September, 1931, the LANE fieldwork began:

> A tentative selection of communities in New England was made in August with the help of Marcus L. Hansen's historical outlines. After several months of fieldwork, when the New England work sheets had been put in final shape, and the number of records to be expected monthly from each fieldworker had been approximately determined, the total number of informants for the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* was fixed, for practical reasons, at about 400 (the actual number is 416) and the number of communities at approximately 200 (actually 213, including two on Long Island and six in New Brunswick).[23]

As in the ALF and SSIS projects before it, the LANE scheme gave the ultimate responsibility of informant selection to the fieldworker:

> After the period of preliminary fieldwork it was decided that three types of informants should be represented in the New England Atlas,

and the fieldworkers were given directions accordingly:

(1) In every community selected for study an elderly descendant of an old local family was to be included: a simple but intelligent farmer or farmer's wife in rural districts, a working man, tradesman, or shopkeeper in larger villages and in cities. It was regarded as important to record this old-fashioned and most definitely local type in every community, in order that the earlier regional pattern might be accurately delineated and the oldest living forms of speech preserved as fully as possible for the historian of New England speech. Since most of the informants of this type are over 70 and not a few over 80, it would seem that we shall be able to establish the regionalism of the pre-industrial era of New England in considerable detail, with the possible exception of the highly urbanized area around Boston.

(2) The second informant in each community was to be a middle-aged man or woman, native to the community, who had received better schooling (high school or academy in addition to grammar school), read more widely or enjoyed contacts with the better educated. This type is represented in about four-fifths of the communities. In others, more or less cultured informants were selected instead.

(3) Cultured informants, with a college education or the equivalent, were to be chosen in most of the larger cities, including all the older cultural centers, and in a number of smaller communities. This type is represented in approximately one-fifth of the communities (38); three-fourths of these are in urbanized southern New England, one-fourth in the largely rural north.[24]

These three types of informants are characterized in these ways:

Type I: Little formal education, little reading and restricted social contacts.

Type II: Better formal education (usually high school) and/or wider reading and social contacts.

Type III: Superior education (usually college), cultural background, wide reading and/or extensive social contacts.

Type A: Aged, and/or regarded by the fieldworker as old-fashioned.

Type B: Middle-aged or younger, and/or regarded by the fieldworker as more modern.[25]

The interviews were conducted from two sets of work sheets:

The *regular* work sheets (questionnaire) of the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* contain 814 words and phrases grouped in 711 numbered items on 103 pages; the *short* set, 421 words and phrases grouped in 388 such items. It was the task of the fieldworker to ascertain the usage of each informant on all these points. In general, the work sheets

indicate only the information sought: words which the informants were to pronounce; objects, actions, qualities, etc., which they were to name; the grammatical expressions for which their normal usage was to be investigated. The form of the questions by which these responses were to be secured was left largely to the ingenuity of the individual fieldworker, although the topical setting and the context provided in the work sheets often served as pointers.[26]

The 416 interviews for the LANE Project were completed in 26 months (1931-33) by these nine fieldworkers: Guy S. Lowman (158), Bernard Bloch (87), Rachel S. Harris (49), Miles L. Hanley (45), Cassil Reynard (22), Martin Joos (16), Hans Kurath (15), Marguerite Chapallaz (13), and Lee Hultzén (11). During the next six years (1933-39), the editing was completed by Hans Kurath and Bernard Bloch, and LANE was published in three volumes (730 maps in six parts) and the *Handbook*. The contents of the Atlas included:

Volume 1 (238 maps): introductory, geographical terms, topographical terms, numerals, expressions of time, the weather, farm buildings, agricultural terms, implements, tools and containers, vehicles and parts of vehicles, domestic animals, calls to animals, and wild animals.

Volume II (251 maps): trees and shrubs, vegetables and fruits, food and cooking, mealtime, the dwelling, clothing and ornaments, the family, social relations, greetings, names, titles, occupations, personal characteristics, and the body.

Volume III (241 maps): illness and death, religion and superstition, public institutions, commercial relations, sport and play, affirmation, negation and interjections, and morphological and syntactic features.[28]

A number of interpretive studies of the New England material appeared before the publication of the Atlas itself,[29] but the most important works of this kind are the three volumes, Kurath (1949), Atwood (1953), and Kurath and McDavid (1961), which combine the findings of that pioneering effort with the subsequent research to the south in the Linguistic Atlas of the Middle Atlantic and South Atlantic States (LAMSAS) Project.[30]

The LAMSAS Project began in 1933 as the second phase of the projected Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, but the death of the principal fieldworker and America's involvement in World War II precluded a schedule to match the LANE program.[31] With work sheets somewhat more elaborate than those used in New England,[32] Guy S. Lowman did most of the fieldwork in the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, and North Carolina, as well as several records in South Carolina and Georgia. After Lowman was killed in an automobile accident while doing fieldwork in Upstate New York, Kurath selected Raven I. McDavid, Jr., to complete the investigation. After World War II, McDavid resumed the fieldwork and finished it in 1949. At present, McDavid and A. L. Davis are editing the materials of the most ambitious atlas project ever undertaken in the Gilliéron tradition (for the University of Chicago Press, which will issue the first fascicles of LAMSAS later this year).

Several other large, independent atlas projects in the United States have followed LANE and LAMSAS. These include the Linguistic Atlas of the North Central States (LANCS), the Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest (LAUM), the Linguistic Atlas of the Rocky Mountain States (LARMS), and the Linguistic Atlas of the Pacific Coast (LAPC). In addition to these surveys, the investigations emerging out of Ontario by H. Rex Wilson and his associates and out of Newfoundland by William Kirwin and others promise to complete the first round of North American English dialectology that McDavid outlined more than a decade ago.[33]

Under the direction of Albert H. Marckwardt, the LANCS Project was initiated in 1938 to survey the regional speech of Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, and Southwestern Ontario. Over a period of 20 years, 15 fieldworkers contributed to a file which included approximately 350 field records when the data-gathering phase of the program was completed in 1958. Most of the research was conducted by Raven I. McDavid, Jr., Alva L. Davis, Frederic G. Cassidy, Harold B. Allen, and Roger W. Shuy from a questionnaire developed from the LANE short work sheets and enlarged to include approximately 525 items. A very important ancillary program was organized in conjunction with the LANCS Project through A. L. Davis's experimentation with a postal questionnaire. Having worked closely with Marckwardt, who first used an abbreviated check list with his students at the University of Michigan, Davis modified the questionnaire to include 100 lexical items from the LANE short work sheets, distributed approximately 300 copies of the form, and interpreted the findings in his doctoral dissertation. Partly because Davis did such a fine job, partly because the central figures in the project (Marckwardt, McDavid, Davis, Cassidy, and Allen) were called upon to shoulder other responsibilities within the discipline, and partly because interest in conventional linguistic geography waned in the late 1950's with the advent of sociolinguistics and transformational theory, this valuable collection has not yet been edited, but the really important facts are these: 1) the evidence has been recorded, 2) many useful interpretive studies have already appeared, and 3) sooner or later, the atlas will be published.[34]

In 1947, Harold B. Allen organized the LAUM Project to gather data in the states of Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Nebraska, as well as in the border communities of Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. Doing half the fieldwork himself, Allen was assisted by H. Rex Wilson, Raven I. McDavid, Jr., Virginia G. McDavid, Robert Weber, Frank Hanlin, and Virgil Peterson in the collection of 208 field records during the decade of 1947-57. The LAUM work sheets were shorter than the long forms used in LANE and LAMSAS, but longer than those used in the LANCS Project. Allen's survey was the first to use tape recordings, in even a limited way, although disc records had been used in conjunction with earlier surveys. The first volume of the LAUM is nearing publication by the University of Minnesota Press with several other volumes planned or in progress.[35]

The only other completed regional survey is the LAPC Project, which began as two separate undertakings with David Reed directing the research in California and Nevada and Carroll Reed in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho. Approximately 300 field records and 1500 check lists were completed in California and

Nevada; approximately 50 records and 1000 check lists were done in the Pacific Northwest. Like the LANCS Project, the research completed on the Pacific Coast has not yet reached the editorial stage, but, as has happened in the North Central States, several important interpretive studies have been produced.[36]

In 1950, Marjorie Kimmerle proposed the LARMS Project, and, shortly thereafter, with the assistance of Raven I. McDavid, Jr., Elizabeth Jackson, and Clyde Hankey, Kimmerle and John McKendrick collected 50 field records and a large number of check lists. In the same year, T. M. Pearce began a check list investigation in New Mexico which has led to the collection of more than 500 of these records. Apart from the studies of Kimmerle, Hankey, and the McDavids, however, the status of the LARMS seems uncertain at this time, although Pearce reported plans in 1968 to publish his materials.[37]

Other regional investigations of American English have been of three basic types, conventional surveys, modified field surveys, and check-list surveys. Among the more ambitious conventional field surveys are William R. Van Riper's Linguistic Atlas of Oklahoma, George Pace and Gerald Udell's Linguistic Atlas of Missouri, and Albert S. Cook's Linguistic Atlas of Kansas. Of these Van Riper's work has reached the most advanced stage of development; with the fieldwork completed in 1960, Van Riper has been editing his materials which are derived from a set of work sheets almost as elaborate as the LAMSAS form and which represent the first statewide survey to be recorded entirely on tape.[38]

Two modified field surveys, both of which covered territory to be included in the LAGS Project, are the Dialect Survey of Texas (1955-1960) and the Dialect Survey of Rural Georgia (1968-1972). If not a modified field survey, Atwood's Texas survey must be regarded the most sophisticated check-list project ever undertaken. By combining evidence from Atlas work sheets and from the studies of his students and associates, Atwood constructed a questionnaire of approximately 250 items, which was organized in the form of the conventional check list. His interesting departure from usual check-list-survey procedure, however, set his work apart from other efforts of that kind: Atwood used student interviewers to gather the material and realized a much higher degree of accuracy in having a survey participant on the scene whenever the evidence was being recorded. As a result of this Atwood produced the most impressive word geography since Kurath's pioneering work of 1949.[39]

The Dialect Survey of Rural Georgia followed Atwood's lead and included a number of modifications of its own. As a preliminary investigation for the LAGS Project, the Georgia survey investigated approximately 350 phonological, grammatical, and lexical features in a network of 76 rural communities in 30-mile grids across the state. In each community two black and two white informants were interviewed by student fieldworkers, and all of these interviews were recorded in full on tape. With a sample limited to better and lesser educated blacks and whites over age 65, it was possible to make more nearly precise statements about regional dialect boundaries, about caste distinctions (separating black and white speech, as well as the speech of "insiders," who are often called "Town Whites," and "outsiders," who are regularly called

"Poor Whites"), and about the potentially significant linguistic forms which serve as regional and social markers within particular towns and within subregional areas in various parts of the state.[40]

Check list investigations have been used all over the country since Davis developed the basic form shortly after World War II. The most ambitious of all these projects has been the work of Gordon R. Wood, who distributed more than 3000 questionnaires in eight Southern states--Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. From this work have come several important insights concerning Southern speech and its subregional varieties, *e.g.*, the complexity of South Midland speech with its appearance deep in the Lower Southern territory (which confirmed the earlier observations of McDavid) and the recognition of a Gulf Southern dialect area (which confirmed the earlier observations of Babington and Atwood).[41]

Three other very important projects are those directed by Frederick G. Cassidy, A. L. Davis, and Audrey R. Duckert, each of which introduces an additional dimension to the study of American regional speech. Cassidy's Dictionary of American Regional English (DARE) Project will produce a massive dictionary of dialectal forms gathered in field investigations. Developed carefully over several decades and grounded in Cassidy's extensive experience in several phases of dialectology, the DARE Project includes over 1000 field interviews, all recorded fully on tape and each representing 20 hours or so of material gathered in a conversational situation. This program is the most elaborate lexical survey based on colloquial speech ever undertaken and promises to give us the most valuable dialect dictionary ever published, a work which will include a viable, if not systematic, phonological component. Davis's Tape Atlas of Standard American English is based on a questionnaire of approximately 500 items, as well as reading and conversation sections. This work is especially interesting because it offers a closer approximation of structural dialectology--*i.e.*, the kinds of investigation outlined by Weinreich, Stockwell, Moulton, and others--than any such work undertaken to date and because it provides a better coverage of cultivated speech than conventional Atlas projects can reasonably offer.[42] Finally, Audrey Duckert's review of New England communities investigated by LANE gives American dialectologists the kind of information Dauzat's work yielded to students of historical Romance philology and linguistics. In addition to Duckert's own work, several of her students have also made useful contributions, all of which strengthens the diachronic aspect of American dialectology and opens the way to larger questions of linguistic change, as did Labov's independent study on Martha's Vineyard.[43]

All of these more recent works have emphasized the social aspect of dialectology, the kinds of considerations which were first recognized by Kurath in the LANE Project. Social dialectology, however, includes a vast amount of research, especially during the past decade, and, although quite interesting in its relationships to regional speech, the sheer bulk of the essays, books, and project reports in this field precludes its discussion in this report. Some of these efforts, particularly the studies in urban speech, are immediately relevant and instrumental in the organization of the LAGS Project. Especially important in this respect are the contributions of those research teams led by Labov, McDavid, and Shuy.[44]

II

For several decades American linguists have recognized the need for a wide-mesh survey of native speech in the Gulf States, as well as across the rest of the Interior South, an investigation which would provide evidence from that region to be integrated with the completed research of the MSAS and NCS Projects.[45] Attention was redirected to the problem at an oral symposium at Duke University, February 10-11, 1966, sponsored by the University Center for Southern Studies in the Social Sciences and the Humanities. Among the essentially programmatic essays presented there, the statements of Raven I. McDavid, Jr., and J. Kenneth Moreland brought the problem into sharp focus for the present generation of dialectologists and anthropologists by observing first, that such a survey was viable and, second, that it was imperative.

After reviewing the editorial status of material already collected, McDavid stated the case quite directly:

> Once we are assured of the publication of the data we have, the highest priority should go to completing the Atlas survey--a first round survey, it should be emphasized, without prejudice to follow-up projects--from the Altamaha to the Sabine, and from Missouri and Kentucky southward to Key West (Atwood's successors at Texas can be counted on to follow up his work on vocabulary with comparable work on pronunciation and grammar). As early as this area was settled, it is practically untouched by serious and systematically comparable investigations. Part of the explanation has been the sheer poverty of the region, which has not generated enough wealth to afford the luxury of extensive research; part has been the inability of the genteel tradition of Southern humanistic studies to focus seriously on everyday speech, and the parallel failure of social scientists to concern themselves with language. However, the territory is not excessively large, nor the population history uncharted; using the same scale as was adopted in the North Central States, one could complete fieldwork in the region with some 450-480 interviews--about four years' work for a single trained investigator, proportionately less if more went into the field.[46]

As a cultural anthropologist who has closely watched the post-World War II developments in the South, Moreland added a note of urgency to the complicated research program outlined by McDavid:

> The South might be characterized as a formerly distinctive region that is fast losing its distinctiveness. It has been different from other American regions in its caste-like system of race relations, its agriculturally based economy and its relatively slow industrialization and urbanization, its fundamentalistic religion, and its feeling of separateness from the rest of the nation. All of these characteristics are probably being altered as cultural traits and patterns throughout America become similar.[47]

As Moreland encouraged anthropologists to witness a culture in transition and to record its characteristics before they are lost beyond recognition, he

isolated a very large and complicated problem which includes Southern speech, the dialects of which must be recorded, analyzed, and described before they are completely assimilated in this process of cultural evolution.

As an extension of the LAMSAS by affiliation, the LAGS Project used the empirical methods developed by Kurath and his associates over the past 40 years, and with these procedures the dialect survey intends to cover evenly the varieties of indigenous American English spoken in the Gulf States of Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, as well as in the neighboring states of Georgia, Tennessee, and Arkansas. From the preliminary research begun in 1968 to the fieldwork in progress in 1972, the organization of this survey has been developed through bibliographical and field investigations, conferences and subsequently revised plans, and a preliminary analysis of material, all of which have contributed and have helped to determine the aims and methods of the work to be done. These considerations preceded the final delimitation of territory, the composition of the work sheets, and the assumption of local responsibilities.

Before the preliminary fieldwork of the Dialect Survey of Rural Georgia (1968) was begun, a review of source material was initiated in the summer of 1967 through the direct support of the Southeast Educational Laboratory (SEL) and with the aid and encouragement of James B. McMillan, whose recently published bibliography of Southern speech accurately reflects his years of attention to the subject.[48] The bibliographical review covered most published research in Southern speech and a considerable number of unpublished theses and dissertations. The conventional definition of *Southern* used by American social scientists limited the area to the 11 members of the Confederacy, Oklahoma and West Virginia, both of which were organized as political entities after the Civil War, as well as the border states of Kentucky and Missouri.[49]

With the Georgia survey well in progress, a conference was held in Atlanta on May 16-17, 1968, under the auspices of SEL. The participants included Harold B. Allen, Hans Kurath, Raven I. McDavid, Jr., James B. McMillan, Lee Pederson, William R. Van Riper, A. Hood Roberts, Rudolph Troike, Juanita V. Williamson, and Gordon R. Wood. Although the ultimate decision to follow the guidelines of the LAMSAS Project was made more recently, the principal features of the survey--its territory, sample, work sheets, and fieldwork--were fully considered at that time.[50]

The Territory. After several reconsiderations, it has been finally decided to include the entire region dominated by the Gulf Coastal Plains, *i.e.*, East Texas (well into the Post Oak Belt which borders the Blackland Prairie), East and Southwest Arkansas (the Mississippi and Coastal Plains and the southern fringe of the Ouachita Mountains), all of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, and Florida, as well as the area of Georgia south and west of Ocmulgee and Altamaha Rivers.

Both the external coherence of this area (reflected in its social history) and its internal diversity (perhaps a reflex of its complicated topography) recommended the inclusion of the entire region. As Frederick Jackson Turner noted in 1901:

> In order to understand what follows, we must bear in mind the outlines of the occupation of the Gulf Plains. While settlement had been crossing the Ohio to the Northwest, the spread of cotton culture and negro slavery into the Southwest had been equally significant. What the New England States and New York were to the occupation of the Middle West, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia were in the occupation of the Gulf States. But, as in the case of the Northwest, a modification of the original stock occurred in the new environment. A greater energy and initiative appeared in the new Southern lands; the pioneer's devotion to exploiting the territory in which he was placed transferred slavery from the patriarchal to the commercial basis. The same expansive tendency seen in the Northwest revealed itself, with a belligerent seasoning in the Gulf States.[51]

The settlement of the Lower South, however, was as distinctive as its terrain. The basic patterns were established by the expansion of the plantation culture from the Low Country in the southeast and the extension of the Highland culture from the north and east. Hammond, thus, summarizes the effects of these separate processes:

> The early settlers in the back part of the Carolinas and Georgia were for the most part of Pennsylvania and Virginia stock. Between these people and the colonists of the low country 'there were no ties of consanguinity, no identity of history, tradition or experience, no religious affinities, no personal acquaintance, [and] no commercial relations.' Between the two sections there was very little intercourse previous to the Revolution. The middle region lay between them, a wilderness through which there were no roads practicable for wagons. The trade of the colonists in the back country was therefore carried on almost entirely with northern cities, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Richmond.[52]

The later development of focal areas on the Gulf Coast in Mobile, Biloxi, New Orleans, and, later, in Houston, Galveston, and Corpus Christi further complicated the speech patterns of the Gulf Coastal Plains. All of this, however, must be viewed as a common fabric, and to subdivide the area (after the fashion of Georgia and Texas county organizations) into a number of independent research projects would preclude, or at least restrict, the usual advantages of regional dialectology.

Map 1 "The Gulf States and the Gulf Coastal Plains" identifies the geographic territory covered by the LAGS Project. Maps 2-6 identify the zones, sectors, and grids within which the sample will be established. The zone and sector divisions were introduced to determine responsibilities for participants in the survey and to simplify the editorial tasks; from the standpoint of the individual fieldworker or the interested reader, these divisions in the maps of Appendix III are quite unimportant.

The grid divisions within each sector are, however, of paramount importance. In the South, local settlement history and population distribution is best understood along county lines, rather than the township government of

New England. The 157 grids of the LAGS Project, which diminish in number from east to west, include 591 counties and parishes in the eight-state region, each of which is regarded a tentative target community but only one of which in each grid will be an obligatory target community.

The Sample. This flexibility provides for a minimum sample of 157 communities and the highly improbable optimum sample of 591 communities. The minimum sample reflects an awareness of the practical limitations imposed by the exigencies of energy, time, personnel, finances, and regional scope. Although it is necessary to concentrate here on the elements of the minimum sample, the elasticity of the LAMSAS Project has demonstrated the value of loosely defined guidelines which permit more intensive investigation in an area after problems of dialect boundaries or social composition have been identified.[53]

In each of the 157 grids, at least one elderly Type I Caucasian informant will be interviewed from the long work sheets and one Type II Caucasian informant from the long or short work sheets (which are described below). In each grid where the Negro population in 1930 exceeded 20% of the total citizenry, an elderly Type I Negro informant will be interviewed from the long work sheets. Negro Type II and Type III informants, as well as Caucasian Type II informants, will be selected according to the judgment of the fieldworker, determined by the nature of the community and the availability of such speakers.[54]

The estimated minimum sample will include no fewer than 300 long-form records and 300 short-form records, but the realized sample will probably be considerably larger than 600 records. The final number will be determined by certain yet undetermined considerations, *e.g.*, whether or not to continue across the Blackland Prairie of Texas and include the important urban centers of Dallas, Austin, and San Antonio and whether or not substantial financial support is forthcoming. With a positive response to both questions, 1000 records, approximately 500 in both long and short forms, seem a realistic goal.

The Work Sheets. Two sets of work sheets are used in this survey. The long work sheets include approximately 1100 items, the short work sheets, approximately 600 items with no additional material not found in the long form. These questionnaires have undergone three revisions since plans for the survey were first organized in 1968.[55] In the present form, the work sheets for the LAGS Project include material from surveys underway or completed in Georgia, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas, as well as additional items suggested by consultants and fieldworkers.[56]

The following list is representative of these additions with sources indicated in parentheses, (C) consultant or fieldworker, (G) Georgia, (L) Louisiana, (O) Oklahoma, and (T) Texas:

Pronunciation	Morphology and Syntax	Vocabulary
light bulb (O)	deleted articles (G)	chop cotton (L)
okra (O)	deleted auxiliary verbs (G)	cracker (C)
pin, pen (T)	deleted prepositions (G)	hoosier (C)
shrimp (L)	desk, desks (G)	lagniappe (T)
	foot, feet [anatomical] (G)	passel (L)
	hand, hands (G)	redbug or chigger (T)
	principal parts of verbs (G)	right smart (L)
	wasp, wasps (G)	cherry tomatoes or tommy-toes (C)

Such items as these have been added to "The Work Sheets for the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada: The Middle Atlantic and South Atlantic States," which is the framework for the LAGS instrument. Taken together, the base form and the additions provide a questionnaire of approximately 1100 items. These cover more than 350 phonological problems, 275 morpho-syntactic contexts, 400 lexical items, and 100 semantic variables.[57]

The Fieldwork. One of the most important developments in the study of speech since the inception of the regional projects discussed earlier is the use of the tape recorder. H. Rex Wilson was the first to implement the machine in an extensive survey, and later, with Raven I. McDavid, Jr., Wilson worked out some of the most difficult problems which must be recognized with such mechanical assistance as the tape recorder.[58] Since that time virtually all field investigations have depended on recorders because they are convenient and because they provide a kind of verification which was impossible before.[59] Another field procedure pioneered by Atwood in this country involves student participation in the collection of data.[60] The Dialect Survey of Rural Georgia combined the two innovations and demonstrated the fact that responsible students could conduct good interviews to be transcribed later by trained phoneticians.

With this method established, the LAGS Project will use a limited number of taped records collected by students and transcribed later by regular fieldworkers or other phoneticians who join the project. The bulk of the fieldwork will be done by permanent members of the LAGS staff, but one of the principal purposes of this manual is to offer guidance to the student interviewers upon whose help we depend to bring this program to a satisfactory conclusion.

NOTES

[1]For a balanced view of the roles of dialectologists in the field of descriptive linguistics, see Harris (1951), McDavid (1961), and Moulton (1968).

[2]This definition combines the terminology of Sapir (1921), Bloch and Trager (1942), and Sommerfelt (1950).

[3]Robins (1964), 51.

[4]"The notion of a natural dialect is not . . . as rigorous as the notion of isoglosses delimiting a group of localities with respect to a particular phenomenon; the dialect is not delimited by one line but by a series of lines distinct from one another. Though somewhat fluid, the notion is nevertheless a real one, and the inhabitants of certain regions have the impression of speaking a dialect that distinguishes them from inhabitants of one or another adjacent region." Meillet [1908] (1967), 23-24.

[5]McDavid (1958), 499. See also the "Bibliography of Linguistic Geography" in Kurath *et al.* (1939), 55-61, especially Gilliéron and Mongin (1905), Gilliéron and Roques (1912), Jaberg (1908), Jaberg (1936), Jaberg and Jud (1928), and Bach (1950). Pop (1950) provides a nearly definitive discussion of European dialectology with massive bibliographical support. A good selected bibliography of American English dialectology is in Allen and Underwood (1971), 524-551.

[6]This list is by no means exhaustive. Religion, association, and place of birth, education, occupation, and social class of parents are also factors to be considered. See Pederson (1965a, 1965b, 1967).

[7]*E.g.*, "Black English," "Nonstandard Black English," and "Child Black English" are terms freely used in pedagogical discussions without recognition of the fact that only two factors (at most) are identified in such designations and without demonstrating that the eight or nine other factors (mentioned above) are irrelevant. See Pederson (1972), for an elaboration of some of these problems with particular attention to Southern speech in rural Georgia, Davis (1970), and, now, Sledd (1972) for the theoretical and practical implications of the problem.

[8]See Joos (1962) for a preliminary sketch of the problem and Labov (1966) for an operational program.

[9]McDavid (1967a) identifies nine more complexes to round out the oversimplified outline in Joos (1962).

[10]For the range of such work, see Pittenger, Hockett, and Danehy (1960). McDavid has recently suggested the terms *microcontext* (characterizing the

narrow focus of current sociolinguistic inquiry) and *macrocontext* (characterizing the wide focus of psycholinguistic inquiry). It is the macrocontext which interests the general dialectologist because it must be established before the microcontext can be sensibly investigated.

[11]*E.g.*, Pop (1950) discusses Salvati's analysis of 12 Italian dialects in the ninth novel of the Decameron, an appendix to *Delgi avvertimenti della lingua sopra'l Decamerone* (Venice, 1584-1586), Leibnitz's interest in the idioms of the Germanic languages and his call for data on the Saxon dialects of Transylvania (1670), and the investigations of provincialisms by Erik Benzelius and his students at Uppsala (1726). Later, the Lucerne cleric,Franz Joseph Stalder completed a preliminary investigation of Swiss provincialisms in 1806, with two more works following in 1812 and 1819, Pop (1950), 163-164, 763-764. In 1821, J. A. Schmeller published his grammar and lexicon of Bavarian dialect; see Schmeller [1821] (1969). For the next 50 years dialect surveys of all sorts proliferated all over Europe; see Pop (1950), 1179-1190, wherein major developments are summarized in two chronological tables.

[12]Wenker published a *Sprachatlas von Nord- und Mitteldeutschland* in 1881, which was based on earlier explorations. "His chief work, the *Sprachatlas des deutschen Reiches*, exists in only two copies, one in Berlin, the other in Marburg; each map shows the behavior of one word in the various dialects. A simplified *deutscher Sprachatlas*, edited by Ferdinand Wrede, and based chiefly on Wenker's materials, began to appear in 1926." Pedersen (1931), 307.

[13]Osthoff and Brugmann [1878] in Lehmann (1967), 204. Had Wenker's program included a more effective phonological component, he might have given the Neogrammarians as much trouble as Gilliéron was later to provide. It is very important, however, to keep in mind the history of phonetic science during the late 19th Century. Wenker had been thoroughly committed to his program before the work of Eduard Sievers, Henry Sweet, J. A. Lundell, Olaf Broch, Otto Jespersen, and Pierre-Jean Rousselot was available for practical application in fieldwork. This historical coincidence is a fundamental element in the development of the two major traditions of linguistic geography, *viz.*, the indirect (checklist or postal questionnaire) approach and the direct (personal interview) approach.

[14]The foregoing summary follows Bach (1950), 41-44, and Pop (1950), 748-750. The several hundred projects, essays, monographs, and books described by Bach (1950), 214-226, illustrate the enormous influence of Wenker's work upon German dialectology and suggest the kinds of contributions a dialect survey can make in the development of general linguistics.

[15]Edmont was a grocer (an *épicier*) by trade and a student of dialects by choice in the small village of Saint-Pol in northern France, a suburb of Dunkirk. He published an elaborate lexicon of Saint-Pol regionalisms, *Lexique Saint-Polois* (1887-1890), and it was the research for this work and his earlier publications that brought him to the attention of Gilliéron, who first met Edmont in 1885. After the completion of ALF, Gilliéron and Edmont collaborated on the Linguistic Atlas of Corsica (*L'Atlas linguistique de la Corse*, 1914), Pop (1950), 531-537. Pop characterized Edmont in this way: he was

neither a polyglot nor a linguist, but he had an extraordinary aptitude for language learning and linguistics; he had an extremely good ear and a fine ability to master phonetics, but, above all, Edmont knew the people; he had a profound understanding of the realities of peasant life and of the psychology of rural people, and these assets surely compensated for his lack of academic training.

[16]The foregoing summary follows Pop (1950), 113-135. Albert Dauzat, who pioneered the field of re-examining areas already investigated with his *L'Atlas linguistique de la France par regions* (1942), provides an excellent summary of the accomplishments of ALF, as well as of French dialectology in general, in Dauzat (1944). See Pop (1950), 136-151, for a critical synopsis of Dauzat's work.

[17]Jaberg and Jud (1928), 175-183. The *normal* (or regular) *questionnaire* of approximately 2000 words and phrases was used in 354 interviews; the *reduced questionnaire* of approximately 800 items was used in 28 interviews, especially in Northern Italy and in the urban centers; the *long questionnaire* of approximately 4000 items was used in 30 interviews, usually employed to further investigate complicated and interesting dialects and idiolects.

[18]The foregoing summary follows Jaberg and Jud (1928) and Pop (1950), 560-597.

[19]See McDavid and McDavid (1956), Atwood (1963), Allen and Underwood (1971), and Viereck (1971), especially, 187-205.

[20]McDavid (1969), 27-28.

[21]Kurath *et al.* (1939), x-xi.

[22]*Ibid.*, xii.

[23]*Ibid.*, 39.

[24]*Ibid.*, 41.

[25]*Ibid.*, 44.

[26]*Ibid.*, 147-148.

[27]*Ibid.*, 40-41.

[28]Viereck (1971), 191-192. Here and elsewhere in this report, Viereck's fine summary of linguistic atlas projects in England, Scotland, and the United States provided several concordances which were most helpful.

[29]*E.g.*, the works of Bloch, Daddow, Hanley, Harris, Kurath, and Penzl in Kurath *et al.* (1939), 56-59

[30]The foregoing summary follows Kurath *et al.* (1939), McDavid and McDavid (1956), and Viereck (1971).

[31]Only the LANE and LAMSAS Projects are properly designated components of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada Project, which was initiated and directed by Kurath, sponsored by the ACLS, and, now, sustained through its final editorial operations by McDavid and Davis.

[32]These include 772 words and phrases, Viereck (1971), 194. For the particular items in this form and in other sets of American work sheets organized before 1968, see Davis, McDavid, and McDavid (1969)

[33]McDavid (1960), Wilson (1958), Kirwin (1968-), and Wilson and Hultin (1971).

[34]Viereck (1971), 195-196. For the relationship of the postal survey to the LANCS Project, see Davis (1949), 1-3; for the composition of the sample, 19-42; for an evaluation of the correspondence method, 44-68.

[35]Viereck (1971), 196-197.

[36]*Ibid.*, 199-200.

[37]*Ibid.*, 198-199. For research in Montana, see O'Hare (1964), organized on the Atwood (1962) model.

[38]*Ibid.*, 203-204.

[39]Atwood (1962). The backgrounds, the questionnaire, and the analysis of the material of the Texas survey are briefly summarized there, 27-37.

[40]Pederson (1971, 1972, and *in press a, b*) summarize the plan and report results from the northern communities of rural Georgia.

[41]Wood (1971). For a review of the aims, accomplishments, and limitations of Wood's survey, see Pederson (*in press c*).

[42]Davis and Davis (1969).

[43]Duckert (1963), Porter (1965), Labov (1963).

[44]McDavid and Austin (1966), Labov (1966), Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley (1967).

[45]Atwood (1963), 26, "In the states of the Gulf Coast and adjoining portions of the South, the preparation of linguistic atlases in the traditional sense has not progressed rapidly, chiefly because of the lack of financial support. This is unfortunate, since these states offer an excellent field for investigation. With the exception of Texas, they have had relatively slow population growth; and the lack of extensive industrialization has tended to preserve a greater stability of population and hence, presumably, of dialect features." For earlier calls, see McDavid (1948), McMillan (1946) and Wood (1960).

[46]McDavid (1967b), 118. He recognized the need not only for the completion of a first round survey but also for a careful investigation of relic areas (such as Appalachia) from which the rural Southerners emerge and of focal areas (such as Atlanta and Memphis) to which these same migrants are drawn. When such research problems are under control and a baseline has been established, a wider range of investigation will be possible for students of Southern speech, as well as for students of theoretical and applied linguistics, *e.g.*, the intricacies of Gullah, Louisiana Negro-French, Florida and Texas Spanish-American English, and the speech of such disparate Southern bilinguals as the Germans, the Czechs, and the Cherokees.

[47]Moreland (1967), 140. His elaboration of this point is equally relevant to the LAGS Project: "The 1960 census revealed that for the first time in census history more Southerners were living in urban than in rural areas. Industrialization has increased rapidly while agriculture has declined. Rapid transportation and extensive migration are breaking down the separateness of the region. Standardization from mass production and mass communication has meant that Southerners are using, seeing, reading, and hearing the same things as all other Americans. The South, therefore, offers an excellent setting for observing change and testing theories of change. It also provides an opportunity for studying stability and continuity amid change, for the Southern values mentioned earlier are likely to continue for some time, although modified in form. Numerous questions regarding change could be raised and studied in the selected communities." 140-141.

[48]Pederson (1968) and McMillan (1972). McMillan's work contains nearly 1200 entries, carefully described and judiciously annotated, including *General Studies, Historical Studies, Lexicon, Phonology and Phonetics, Morphology and Syntax, Place Names, Personal and Miscellaneous Names, Figurative Language, Exaggerations,* and *Word Play, Literary Dialect,* and *Serial Bibliographies.* With 180 reviews also cited, this bibliography offers students of Southern speech nearly 1400 titles in the most authoritative catalogue of regional speech ever organized in this country.

[49]See, *e.g.*, Read (1910), Couch (1934), and Thompson (1967).

[50]Pederson (1971), 85-86.

[51]Turner [1901] (1920), 139.

[52]Hammond (1897), 114. The quotation within the text is from W. L. Trenholm, "Transportation in South Carolina" in H. Hammond, ed., *Handbook of South Carolina* (1883), 616.

[53]No prearranged schedule can provide the social sensitivity of the worker in the field, as, for example, McDavid's fieldwork in northwest South Carolina, where he found the dialect boundary and tracked it by his own lights.

[54]At the same time, the plan to provide an adequate sample of black speech has been preserved. Findings in the Dialect Survey of Rural Georgia have demonstrated the necessity of carefully examining black speech in any survey of Southern speech; see Pederson (1972) and those titles noted in Pederson (1971)

Systematic sampling of black speech, however, must also be realistic and practical, recognizing that where the native black population is limited to the very young (because of recent in-migration) it is wasteful to attempt matching black and white speakers and that in most rural communities (given the reality of rigorous segregation) it is usually impossible to find native black informants over age 65 with much formal education. With these lessons behind us, the sample of black speech will not match population statistics in a systematic way, and the speech of older cultivated black speakers will be investigated, almost exclusively, in urban centers.

[55]Pederson (*in press d*).

[56]Specificially, A Dialect Survey of Rural Georgia (Pederson, Rueter, Hall, Dunlap, and Crist), A Linguistic Survey of Louisiana (Wise), A Vocabulary Study of Lafourche Parish and Grand Isle, Louisiana (Le Compte), Linguistic Atlas of Oklahoma (Van Riper), and Linguistic Survey of Texas (Atwood). For all of these, except the Georgia survey, see Davis, McDavid, and McDavid (1969).

[57]Semantic problems are investigated after other terms are elicited, *e.g.*, after the fieldworker has discussed designations for poor whites and rustics and the informant has provided the terms which come to mind, the fieldworker returns to the specific forms, *cracker* and *hoosier* (which are recognized in the survey as semantic problems) to get the informant's interpretations. For the importance of a semantic component in projects involving fieldworkers, see Allen (1960) and Underwood (1968).

[58]McDavid (1957) and Wilson (1956).

[59]Davis, McDavid, and McDavid (1969), xii-xiii.

[60]This approach also provides a good introduction to linguistic geography and is producing good linguistic geographers, *e.g.*, Grace S. Rueter's study of regional and social variation in Georgia Fall Line communities and Joan H. Hall's study of Low Country speech (the focal area dominated by Savannah) have grown out of direct participation in the Georgia survey.

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FIELD PROCEDURES: INSTRUCTIONS FOR INVESTIGATORS, LINGUISTIC ATLAS OF THE GULF STATES

Raven I. McDavid, Jr.

When the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada was inaugurated in 1929, it was envisaged as a unified continent-wide survey under the direction of Hans Kurath. However, a generation later sees the project far from realization. The discrepancy between vision and reality in no way detracts from the administration skill of Kurath, or from his devotion to the systematic study of regional and social varieties of North American English. It merely reflects a number of external circumstances that have made completion of the work more difficult.

1. The 1929 depression, with the attrition of the endowments of universities and foundations.

2. The interruption of scholarly activities by World War II and later by the involvement of the United States in Korea and Southeast Asia.

3. The mortality of the older generation of field investigators and the lack of replacements.[1]

4. The diversion of younger linguists to other kinds of work, of at least ostensibly more practical interest.

   a. The intensive language program of World War II.

   b. The post-Korean programs in the study of strategic languages and in the preparation of materials for the teaching of English as a second language.[2]

   c. The government interest of the 1950's in machine translation, with its spin-off in generative grammar of various transformational sects.[3]

   d. The recent profit in poverty, which has led to *ad hoc* sociolinguistic programs with a limited research base.[4]

   e. The friendly competition of Frederick Cassidy's Dictionary of American Regional English, a project magnificently conceived and energetically directed, which has received not only generous Federal subventions but the most enthusiastic support ever accorded a dialect project by its host university.

II

Since the Gulf States are one of the two oldest areas of southern settlement (Tennessee and Louisiana were admitted to the Union before Indiana or Illinois, and Arkansas statehood antedates that of Michigan and Wisconsin), the need for a systematic survey was clear from the beginning of the Atlas project, as McDavid pointed out in 1941 and in 1947. However, except for lexical interviews in Texas (Atwood 1962) and Wood's check list projects (Wood 1960, 1961, 1963, 1971), the area remains unsurveyed for Atlas purposes, though its lexicon has been admirably covered in the wider-meshed survey of Cassidy's Dictionary of American Regional English.

The first requirement for a successful regional survey of the Gulf States--an experienced scholar in a regional university, able and willing to commit himself to directing such a project--was met when Pederson joined the faculty of Emory University in 1966. Under his leadership, a conference in Atlanta in the Spring of 1968 sketched plans for the survey. Two later conferences in 1970--in Knoxville and Atlanta (the latter in connection with the annual convention of the National Council of Teachers of English)[5]--further delineated the project and suggested ways in which the available resources might be brought to bear on the logistic problems which the region presents.

A survey of the Gulf States encounters problems unlike those found in any of the other regional surveys that have been successfully organized.

1. In Texas, the most affluent of the Gulf States, with its state university offering probably the most distinguished linguistics program in America, there are probably the greatest resources but little interest so far in using them for dialect investigation, even within the state. Atwood 1962 comments wryly on this situation; since Atwood's death the work has devolved upon Rudolph Troike, who has also the responsibility for various projects in social dialects and their pedagogical implications. Since much of the vocabulary (and indeed many of the verb forms) was investigated for Atwood 1962, and the phonological investigation was set up on a basis different from that of the regional linguistic atlases, it is the part of realism to accept the Texas projects on their own merits and hope that Troike and his associates may develop some fieldworkers competent to help handle the investigations in other states.

2. In Louisiana the late C. M. Wise provided more than a hundred field records, the product of interviews by student investigators. As he frequently remarked, these interviews were not intended to provide coverage of the state with the quality expected of a linguistic atlas; nevertheless, the records are there, to start from. Since Louisiana State has found two competent successors to Wise--Claude Shaver in Speech and W. R. Van Riper in English--and since the state Department of Education has expressed its concern with the problems of non-standard dialects, there is every reason to let the autonomy of the Louisiana work continue, and hope that some of

the graduate students at Louisiana State may become interested in field work--perhaps as doctoral dissertation projects--in the other Gulf States. Since Wise's students used essentially the questionnaire designed for the South Atlantic States, one can expect that at least in vocabulary the data from Louisiana will be generally comparable with what Pederson and his collaborators may gather.

3. Arkansas has the clearest plans for a state survey. Gary Underwood, an associate of Harold B. Allen on the Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest,[6] has recently joined the faculty of the University of Arkansas, with the promise of funds for the investigation of the speech of the state. Since Underwood has been involved in the planning sessions in Knoxville and Atlanta, he is aware of the need to collaborate with other investigations. He has particular problems in providing comparable data, since the Arkansas survey comes not only at the time when field work is beginning in the other Gulf States, but after it has been launched in Texas and Louisiana and completed in Oklahoma and Missouri.[7] Whatever the speed of the work, one would hope to see continued liaison between Underwood and Pederson; in fact, to interpret Arkansas speech patterns, one needs field records in small Mississippi River communities in Tennessee and Mississippi, and collaboration with investigators in metropolitan Memphis.[8]

4. The rest of the area--Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, and the western two-thirds of Georgia--will require of its director not only the usual virtues of energy and foresight, but the political skill of eliciting support of various kinds from a number of relatively impecunious institutions and of coordinating a number of local investigations into a regional survey.[9]

III

The network for the Gulf States should be of about the same density as that for the North-Central survey--some 25-35 communities per state, with the county normally the community unit. Perhaps to a greater extent than elsewhere, the plans should include relatively isolated communities, and those with declining populations.[10] The network of communities and the basic selection of informant types will be made by the director. However, the choice of localities and informants will ultimately be made by the fieldworker. He should keep in mind the aims of the survey and the social and cultural history of the region. Whatever the current mode of interest in dialects may be, it is none the less true that the primary purpose of a linguistic atlas is that of historical linguistics, of providing a body of stable local folk evidence, from which one may work backward, comparatively, to set up the affiliations of the dialect regions with those in older settled areas and in the British Isles. To the extent that the method of the survey turns from this purpose toward recent sociological problems--however interesting they may be--it is vitiating the principal argument for its existence. In view of the fact that industrialization, urbanization, and mass education (however uneven it may be in quality) have created a more rapid attrition of folk speech in the past half-century than ever before, it is more important than ever to see that this speech is adequately represented in the survey of the Gulf States.

The practical problems of education--not only in the Gulf States themselves, but in the Midwestern cities heavily colonized from this region in recent years--would demand a serious effort to interview black and poor white informants in numbers at least proportionate to their present representation in the general population, somewhat greater if possible, since the black proportion of the population has been declining in all states of the regions for the past fifty years (more markedly in Mississippi than in Tennessee). It might be desirable to think in terms of the racial proportions as of the 1930 census, though exacerbated racial tensions and the perennial scarcity of black investigators may make it impossible to achieve this ideal balance. It would probably be most fruitful to select most of the black informants from the Atlas I-A group--older generation and unsophisticated--except in the larger cities--*e.g.*, Memphis, Nashville, and Montgomery--that have always had a black elite. In such cities cultivated black informants should be sought, and the intermediate group as well; some of the latter may also be interviewed in smaller urban areas. But--again reflecting the historical situation and the historical purpose of a linguistic atlas, the overwhelming number of black informants should be old, uneducated and rural. Bearing in mind the importance of getting representative black informants, there should be about sixty white informants per state, with the number of black informants reflecting the 1930 racial distribution. Thus in Tennessee twelve black informants would be adequate, while in Mississippi one would seek out ideally as many blacks as whites.

The questionnaire is likely to be a compromise between those for the South Atlantic and the North-Central States, with a few additions (*e.g.*, *chigger* vs. *red bug*) suggested by experience in Louisiana and Texas. Since the interviews will normally be conducted with the aid of a tape recorder, there will be room for a number of high-frequency items of morphology and syntax, which should appear in the informants' unguarded conversation.[11]

The fieldworkers will be of several types. There will be a cadre of experienced investigators, but they will be able to do only part of the work. A second group will consist of students, graduate and undergraduate, who will investigate parts of the region as term paper or thesis projects (at least one such investigation is already under way, for a doctoral thesis). Even students with little skill in phonetics may conduct a taped interview in lieu of a concentional term paper. Finally, a few persons--teachers or others--may wish to do some interviewing out of sheer love, perhaps combined with a desire to provide materials for classroom discussion. No help of this kind should be rejected out of hand, but it is imperative to provide careful directions, so that their energy and interest will not be wasted.

With the availability of good recording apparatus and the likelihood that a major part of the interviewing will be done by part-time investigators, the traditional qualifications for a fieldworker need reexamining. Minuteness of phonetic transcription at high speed in the field becomes far less important than the ability to work with people, to keep the interviewing situation relaxed while moving along, and allowing the informant ample time for free conversation. These qualities--whether natural or acquired--have always characterized the good fieldworker; where most interviews are done by relatively inexperienced persons, they are indispensable, since it is unlikely that an investigator unsure of himself in interpersonal situations can be kept in the field long enough to overcome his timidity. Those with experience in dealing

with the public in lay situations--journalists, salesmen and policemen come to mind--are most likely to adapt to field work. The linguist who is chiefly concerned with elaborate theories--whatever the doctrinal bias--is as likely to be ineffective in the field as he was in Gilliéron's time, though few would go so far as Gilliéron did and argue that a professional interest in linguistics is a *prima facie* disqualification (the investigators for Jaberg and Jud 1925-40 were adequate contrary examples).

The final phonetic transcription will be made from the tape recording. However, since it is always easier to refine and correct a transcription than to transcribe slowly from a cold tape, fieldworkers should be encouraged to transcribe on the spot the responses to direct questioning, insofar as this does not unduly slow down the interviewing (experienced fieldworkers will either let the informant continue talking--a good way to record more evidence in uninhibited grammar--or interject stories of their own). It is particularly helpful to note final consonants--especially the voiceless stops and fricatives--which even the best recording apparatus picks up imperfectly.

IV

The basic purpose of a linguistic atlas is to provide a comparable record, so that the affiliations of the dialects of the region may be set up with other regions and with indeed other countries. For this reason, regardless of whatever other types of informants are included, it is imperative that each community include at least one representative of the local folk speech--someone at least seventy, with the minimum of education and travel and other kinds of external cultural exposure. For a long-settled state like Tennessee, it even might be advisable (if funds should be short) to increase the number of communities, and in two-thirds of them interview *only* the older folk type. Such a procedure was suggested, indeed, by Davis and McDavid for Kentucky, and was discarded only because of McDavid's success in his principal field trips.

The South--old and new--is county conscious; the county rather than a particular point on a grid should be taken as the community unit. It will be noted from Lowman's procedure in the 1930's that the folk informant was normally found in one of the remote sections of the county, and the slightly more sophisticated one in or near the county seat. The more remote a folk informant is from the local center of population, the better the conditions are likely to be for an uninhibited interview.

The type of interview hardest for an investigator to conduct is the one he should be sure to get out of the way earliest in his work in a particular community (county). Just as McDavid, who was uncomfortable with the middle group and more relaxed with the folk speaker, tried to get the middle group attended to, so as to leave time for a more relaxed session with the folk speaker, a person with inhibitions about the folk interview should concentrate on this--remembering that such an interview will yield the greatest amount of useful data. No community should be considered adequately covered unless such a folk informant has been satisfactorily interviewed, regardless of how many other kinds of informants are included.

It is true that some folk informants may be hard of hearing, or self-conscious about it. The affliction alone isn't necessarily a disqualification if the interviewer is willing to raise his voice and take a little more time than usual; the self-consciousness is, however, and the interviewer on discovering it should slip into his routine for finishing up (apparently) with grace and thanks, and go looking for someone more satisfactory.

The folk informants, by virtue of age and other things, are going to take longer than others to interview. If the average time for a satisfactory long work sheet interview is about six hours (and I would think of that as something like a minimum, since that means nearly three questions a minute without interruption), that for an older folk informant might be considered eight hours--again, allowing nearly two questions a minute. The interviewer must budget at least that much time (more if he has a false start on an unsatisfactory subject), and hope he does better. It's better to plan on five days away from home and occasionally finish up in three than to set a goal of two or three days and find the community done less adequately than one would perfer.

All of Tennessee was settled early, with statehood in 1796. Alabama and Mississippi were states before 1820. One should expect, as a minimum, that every informant be a native of the county and have at least one parent with the same qualifications; normally, the grandparents should also be natives. If this skips black or Chinese or Scandinavian informants, they are likely to be atypical in the county, anyhow. No informant not a native and the child of a least one native parent should be included in the Atlas coverage--though such an informant might be useful for other purposes. Of course a long-held homestead a few miles across the county line is no *prima facie* disqualification, especially if the adjacent county is not being included in the network. Many old southern counties have been divided since 1870 for such purposes as control of the state senate; and the thoughts of older citizens--and indeed current marketing habits--may not yet reflect the newer political boundaries.

Informants should be sought in older communities, rather than in the more recent industrial aggregations, such as those around Alcoa and Oak Ridge. Such communities might lend themselves admirably to late sociolinguistic (or ethnolinguistic) investigations in depth, along the lines of those undertaken by Shuy or Labov or O'Cain; but such investigations lie outside the primary aim and scope of a linguistic atlas.

Field procedures get to be systematized with experience; where the training of new investigators can be spread out over a summer school or longer, as happened with the earliest fieldworkers in New England and with the first group for the North Central States, much can be picked up incidentally. But where there will be a continual use of relatively inexperienced volunteers, these matters should not be left to chance.

Before going into a community any fieldworker should take several steps to prepare himself.

1. First, he should begin gathering a list of those who might help him find good informants. Which ones may be most effective will vary from place to place, and the decision as to which should be approached first may be postponed until the fieldworker arrives in the community. But a letter beforehand is never amiss, and may get the local contact actually thinking about the kinds of informants who would be most useful.

2. At this stage it is advisable to find out as much as possible about the history and traditions of the community. Even if the fieldworker is a native of the community, as will often happen with student interviewers, he can refresh and deepen his knowledge; it is impossible for him to know too much, and dangerous to know too little. He should at least be aware of the situations in which the community may have acquired undesirable notoriety. Since the grandfather of an excellent informant may very well have promoted a lynching, with the acquiescence of the most respectable citizens and the duly constituted authorities, it is as desirable to know what kinds of questions one should not ask as what to ask, or where the investigator should give a diplomatic brushoff to an apparently shocking opinion. Or in a peculiar way, one should know the kinds of things of which the community and informants may be proud, and exploit this pride.[12]

3. The fieldworker should of course take advantage of the experiences of his predecessors, from the New England Atlas on, in developing his own line of questioning. Anything he can learn about the local or regional use of key words and constructions should be exploited. He should also make use of the experience of other fieldworkers in framing questions so as to get the most characteristic and natural responses. Lowman and Bloch and Harris put on record their characteristic questions for New England: McDavid has more recently put on tape his line of questioning for the South, Upstate New York, and the North-Central States. And the taped interviews currently available for the South not only give examples of the useful kinds of questions but of the tactics in interviewing that interfere with natural responses.[13] No investigator should go into the field without listening to some of these taped interviews, and the more the better.

4. Since the fieldworker is almost certain to be conspicuous--and the smaller the community, the more conspicuous--he should adopt a style that does not give unnecessary offense to local mores. If anything, dress and grooming and general decorum should be a little more conservative than the community standard. Even if the interviewer does not regularly go to church, he might find church attendance convenient--especially if he is invited. Church is a good place to observe people and mores; and the fieldworker's presence will be helpful in identifying him with the community as someone natural to talk to, and informally vouchsafed as safe and respectable.

5. If the fieldworker is to do a large number of interviews and utilize his transcriptions for a serious study, he should have a great deal of practice in transcribing, both in the field and from tapes, regardless of whether he makes the final transcription on the spot or after the

interview. A common period of phonetic training, and simultaneous transcription with an experienced fieldworker under field conditions, can do much to reduce the personal differences that inevitably arise in impressionistic recordings.[14]

6. At least as valuable preparation is the joint interview situation where an experienced investigator works a new one into the routine of asking the questions; where this is impractical, as in a seminar for which every student is expected to provide a field interview, the recorded practices of investigators make a tolerable substitute, as we have already indicated.

7. All potential fieldworkers should rehearse the questions they expect to use for eliciting responses. They should try to develop casual techniques of interrogation, either on their own or with the precept and example of experienced investigators, so that there will be a natural flow of questions and answers, such as one would have in a conversation.

V

When the fieldworker arrives in an unfamiliar community, he should get the feel of it as quickly as possible. He may even wish to look the community over before checking in at his hotel (if he has a reservation) by driving across town and back on a couple of main routes. (This may also help him make up his mind about where to stay, if he doesn't have a reservation). On this criss-crossing he can update his knowledge of the community by looking for signs of recent affluence or decay, and then for important landmarks and family names which may be useful props in his conversation.

The choice of accommodations is sometimes limited, but it is generally advisable to stay in a relatively small establishment, identified with the community and patronized by local people, rather than in a chain motel. That a hotel's dining room is used for the luncheons of Rotarians, Kiwanians, and the like is usually a good sign of its local identity; such groups may even be exploited as a source of informants. And of course the manager of a local hotel can help the fieldworker evaluate suggested informants or can suggest further names; he may even be a good informant himself, of the second or third class. There are two further practical considerations in looking for a hotel rather than a chain motel: (1) the hotel usually has better facilities for writing; (2) a hotel's rates are likely to be lower.

As soon as the fieldworker has established himself a base, he should call on those who may direct him to possible informants. As already indicated, it is useful though not indispensable for him to have written ahead. Various kinds of people can be helpful; the one thing that all have in common is their knowledge of the community and its people, and the value of their name and office in attesting the legitimacy of the fieldworker's mission.

1. Personal friends, and friends of personal friends (including one's students and their families) are best. They will also provide an introduction to other contacts in the community.

2. Elective county and local officials, who have to run for office at regular intervals, therefore have to keep in touch with their constituents and know backgrounds and idiosyncrasies. Moreover, since the local records are in their custody, such officials as the clerk of court and judge of probate ("ordinary" in Georgia) are in a position to know who the old families are. Each state has a legislative manual listing the principal county officials. In urban areas the ward committeemen and precinct captains serve analogous functions.

3. The farm and home demonstration agents, career people, are not necessarily natives of the county where they work, but their duties bring them in close contact with the people who know the traditional culture. Since the agents are under the supervision of the agricultural extension service at a state university, it is easy to get their names. They are possibly better for Type II informants than for the older and less sophisticated, but their travels at least make it possible for them to identify both groups.

4. Local historians and historical societies vary in their usefulness. Few states can match New York, where by law each county, township and incorporated village is entitled to one historian, who receives a small honorarium in return for performing a few chores, and who is encouraged to pursue his scholarly interests. Over the years, with the help of the New York Historical Association and the Cooperstown museums, this arrangement has developed a body of local historians who are concerned with their subject in the broadest sense, and who have themselves often turned out laudable studies. Since local historians of this background have already worked with live informants, they may be able to suggest people who not only know and use the local vernacular but who know how to cooperate with fieldworkers.

Not all local historians are as useful as those in New York State. In many communities--especially in parts of the South--history is still evaluated in terms of the glorious deeds of heroic ancestors, so that historians may find it incredible that a serious scholar should be interested in the humdrum activities of ordinary people (*ordinary*, like *common*, is derogatory in the eyes of many Southerners). Nevertheless, such historians can provide introductions to cultivated speakers, to say nothing about the bibliography of local history. In other words, the fieldworker should always consult the local historian or historical society, though the use he makes of them depends on how they exercise their profession.

5. Local newspapermen, like local elected officials, need to know their community in line of duty. They are likely to be objective about local mores and values, even if they don't display this objectivity in public. Furthermore, since the usual smalltown weekly is starved for fresh news, the presence of their fieldworker in the community practically assures a story with a new local angle, so that it is the editor's interest to help the fieldworker. The fieldworker, of course, may write the story himself, with a local angle--though of course preserving the official anonymity of his informants--and turn it over to the newspaper as he leaves town.

6. In smaller communities the local banker--who knows where his loans are placed and how they are secured--may be very helpful. In Midwestern agricultural communities some fieldworkers have been led to informants through dealers in farm machinery or agents for farm insurance. And in many ethnic communities an understanding saloonkeeper or barber may put a fieldworker in contact with a natural, reliable and gregarious informant in a situation where natural conversation is assured.

7. A Roman Catholic priest, especially in an ethnic parish, may be very valuable as a contact, since most parishes have members of all social classes. (The fact that sometimes a priest may be overly protective of his flock, especially in a troubled urban area, does not alter the potential usefulness). Protestant clergymen, however, are less useful--except, again, for an ethnically-oriented congregation, like many of the subspecies of Lutherans. Episcopalians and Presbyterians have a disproportionate percentage of the upper classes, and even among the Baptists and the various pentecostal sects, the typical cleric is likely to be an upward-mobile person who looks upon the folk idiom as something he is happy to have escaped; the platform style of Billy Graham is an example of this distortion. Schoolteachers, especially English teachers--a notoriously untesticulate profession, heavily seasoned with petty sadists and frustrated old maids, both in panties and in pantaloons--are likewise of little help, and librarians are if anything worse. To be sure, an individual preacher or teacher or librarian may have had particular training or interest to make him useful, but this proceeds *ex persona* rather than *ex officio*.

Whoever the talent scout may be, the fieldworker should be utterly frank about his purpose. Often enough, informants--or their families or neighbors--may be suspicious about an apparently inquisitive stranger, and an informed (if informal) local sponsor can dispel suspicion. It is also good to present the project at first as a matter of research into oral history rather than into language *per se*, and to eschew the work *dialect*, which is often misunderstood. At least at first, any connection with English teaching ought to be kept at a minimum; nobody wants informants to watch their grammar.

In asking for suggestions about possible informants, the fieldworkers should emphasize certain general qualifications: local origins, family identity with the community for as many generations as possible, alertness of mind and willingness to talk. Then one should stress the particular qualities desirable in each class of informants:[15]

Type I: Oldest living generation with the minimum of education, travel, and other cultural exposure outside his family.[16]

Type II: Someone of the middle-aged group, with up to a high school education and somewhat more cultural exposure.

Type III: In about a fourth or a fifth of the communities (the particular locations being determined at the time the network is arranged), a cultivated informant, representing the best cultural traditions of the community.[17]

The ethnic composition of a community must be taken into account. In the South this means a sampling of Americans of African descent, especially in the areas where plantation agriculture was important, and in the larger industrial centers.[18] In other communities a group with a history of a language background other than English may be important enough to sample. Here, of course, as Cassidy has observed about his own work, one must be sure that every informant is a native speaker of English, regardless of whatever other languages he may speak.[19]

The investigator should encourage his talent scouts to talk at length about the various possible informants of each type, and should rank them informally as the conversation develops. One advantage in using more than one local contact is that they can not only supplement but support each other; and if the second contact doesn't mention someone already recommended, then the name can be casually introduced and an opinion obtained of his suitability. One cannot have too many names to choose from; some potential informants may be out of town, ill or otherwise unavailable; others will be suspicious themselves or constrained by suspicious relatives; still others may become ill, grow tired, or lose interest. A long list to start from will let the work proceed whatever contingencies arise (actually, as a fieldworker acquires experience he learns how to judge from the recommendations so that he has few refusals and fewer occasions to break off an interview and seek another informant).[20]

VI

Meeting a new informant is always a challenge; no matter how many interviews a fieldworker has conducted, he is likely to feel a little nervous on beginning another (this experience is familiar to other types of interviewers, including psychiatrists. See Pittenger, Hockett, and Danehy 1960). The success of the interview depends on the ability of the investigator to win the confidence of the informant and to establish himself as a friend and neighbor if not quite a member of the extended family. The interview should veer away from language questions and especially away from usage, and concentrate on history and folklore and the like; this is particularly true at the beginning, when the tone of the interview is set.[21]

The form of the interview should be kept as conversational as possible. With experience, an investigator learns some of the social cues he didn't have beforehand. But since many projects (especially the survey of the Gulf States) may depend on relatively untrained interviewers, a few cautions are in order. An examination of the tapes of previous interviews, by other fieldworkers, will—as indicated before—provide at least some general hints of what not to do.

1. The more conversation the better, not only in the introductory gambit but throughout the interview. In a sense, the less conspicuous the fieldworker the better.

2. The informant should be encouraged--where he is able (and most Americans are able)--to look before and after, to the usage of the older generation and that of the younger, and to comment on it freely.

3. The interview should be organized around topics, descriptions of events and situations, rather than become a series of discrete questions in quiz format. A familiar complaint of informants--especially the less educated--is that they feel as if they are being subjected to an "Intelligence Test"; and nothing is more likely to reinforce this reaction than a series of questions of the type "What do you call . . .?"[22]

4. The questions should be put as informally as possible and avoid excessively formal language. The cultivated informants will not mind a touch of informality (in fact, this will encourage them to use their natural, relaxed speech), and the uneducated will not respond naturally to any other approach. Thus *castrate* and its synonyms (36.1) are offered more naturally in response to "What do you do to a pig if you don't want it to grow up to be a boar?" (It may even evoke an anecdote, useful for future interviews) than to "What do you call the process of rendering a pig sterile?"

5. When an informant is in the process of answering a question--especially where many synonyms and variants may be involved (such as 44.4, 44.7, dealing with different kinds of bread), the fieldworker should never cut in, but wait for a pause and then ask the next question.[23] For those items where multiple answers are likely, he should have the definitions and descriptions clearly in mind, so as to keep the dialogue moving. For instance, in dealing with corn bread of various kinds, he might ask for the following:

a. A large cake of plain cornbread (*pone*).

b. Corn bread with wheat flour and egg (*egg bread*).

c. A soft kind of corn bread, cooked in a deep pan or casserole and ladled onto one's plate (*spoon bread*).

d. A kind of corn bread cooked in the ashes (*ash cake*).

e. A kind of corn bread cooked on a board in front of the fire (*johnny cake*).

f. A large flat cake cooked on a griddle or in a skillet (*hoe cake*).

g. A kind of corn bread shortened with the scraps left over from rendering lard (*crackling bread*).

h. Small hand-shaped cakes, usually three or four cooked in a skillet at once (*hobbies, corn dodgers*--in the uplands).

i. Small spheroidal cakes, cooked in deep fat or other seafood (*hush puppies, red horse bread, corn dodgers* in South Georgia).

j. Something boiled with turnip greens or the like (*dumplings; corn dodgers* in the coastal plain).

k. *Corn batter cakes* (pancakes); occasionally *corn dodgers*.

It has been the experience of some fieldworkers that some informants will know all of these, and have their other varieties besides (*corn muffins, corn sticks*). It is the business of the fieldworker to see how much he can find out.

6. Suggested responses ("Did you ever call it *A*?") and forced responses ("Would you call it *X* or *Y*?") are to be used sparingly, and only as a last resort. A dozen times on an interview is more than enough, if the fieldworker is a good conversationalist, and willing to give the informant a chance. Such techniques should be used, if at all, in probing for old-fashioned synonyms. Even for this purpose they are not as useful as a shift of attention to a homely context. For instance, if the informant offers the literary term *dragon fly*, the investigator may ask, "What did you call it when you were a boy playing along a creek?"

If suggestions are offered, they should be relatively few, and emphasize responses that are likely to be productive--that is, known to be used in nearby communities. The Hudson Valley *olicook* 'doughnut' is not likely to get any kind of response in Georgia. Occasionally, of course, a skilled investigator may suggest the most implausible synonym and thereby elicit the informant's natural usage; responses obtained in this way are not "suggested" and should not be so marked. In any event, the casual tone of an interview should be carefully maintained during the process of suggestion.[24]

Inadvertent suggestion--that is, referring in the eliciting question to the item sought--is difficult to avoid, especially for beginners. A little forethought--thinking over the items, setting up situational stimuli in the conversation, and examining the usual ways experienced investigators have asked the questions--will probably avoid most of these mishaps.

7. It is well to handle the grammatical questions lightly, especially in one's first interviews. Even Guy S. Lowman, Jr., with a thousand interviews to his credit, always deferred pages 12-13 and 24-25 to the end of the interviews. McDavid, in principle, tried to get in free conversation most of the responses for these pages, and also for 40, 42-43, 57-58, 70, and 88, asking directly for them only at the end of the interview.[25] With tape recording of the interview the normal procedure, it should be possible to get the greater part of the grammatical evidence without direct questioning, if the informant is given an adequate chance to talk.

The pace of the interview, in the last analysis, is always determined by the informant. If he gets tired, the investigator should adjust his schedule accordingly. If he wants to tell a story, the investigator should be happy; after all, it provides more evidence for conversational usage, breaks up the sense of a quiz, and helps incorporate the fieldworker into the informant's circle of friends (especially for older informants, a fieldworker is considered

fair game for all the stories with which the informant has bored his family and neighbors, and should welcome the role). Of course, a very talkative informant may make the interview a slightly frustrating experience, but a skillful investigator can ultimately steer the conversation on to the next topic.[26]

The conversation may take unexpected directions. The interviewer should always treat as confidential any opinions or personal matters that are revealed to him.[27] And however repugnant may be the informant's opinions on any topic--religion, politics, morality, or race--the investigator should accept them as part of the record and go on with the interview. A representative older-generation uneducated white informant in rural Alabama is very likely to have voted for George Wallace.[28]

As mentioned earlier, fine phonetic transcription on the spot is less important in the day of tape recordings than it used to be. Nevertheless, the investigator should note troublesome problems, like the voiceless stops and spirants, and he should keep a record of what questions have been answered, so as to be able to pick up the residue at the end of the interview.

VII

Although it is natural to ask what the length of an interview should be, there is no hard and fast answer. It should simply take up enough time to get natural responses in a relaxed situation. A questionnaire like the long work-sheets for the Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States has about 800 items; the shorter work sheets, like those for the North Central States, have a little under 600. Either will involve questions for synonyms, false starts, anecdotal digressions, family interruptions and the miscellaneous accompaniments to conversation.[29] Clearly, one should not count on completing the interview in a single session, especially in interviewing older informants.[30]

With most informants the productive length of a session--allowing for human fatigue, of both informant and fieldworker, and the other commitments of the informant--is between two and three hours. At a fair pace this means that an interview with the long work sheets should take two or three sessions for an experienced fieldworker, more for a beginner.[31]

However, the time between sessions need not be considered wasted. The fieldworker will soon find that he needs a little time to rest and recover; this is more evident the longer a field trip happens to be. One may do ten communities on a month's trip (as R. McDavid did in eastern Kentucky in 1954) and not be ready for another interview for several months. Two weeks or so seems to be the normal upper limit for a field trip; after that, there is enough material on hand for a month's editing.

But welcome as mere rest may be, the interlude between sessions has more productive uses. Before tape recorders were available, the fieldworker would try to check through his notes from free conversation and put the forms in the

proper places in the field book; today, with most of the actual transcription deferred, the interviewer still needs to note where he has got what conversational responses, and determine whether this has eliminated the need for direct questioning or only (as usually happens) provided cues for more effective questioning when the topic is reached in the interview. The time spent playing back the tape--for listening, observation, and planning--is usually much more productive than prolonging an interviewing session past the point of weariness. And if there still should be time between sessions, the interviewer can spend it in learning more about local history or in casual listening, against the need for an additional or supplementary interview, or just to verify his feelings about local speechways.[32]

Needless to say, it is even more important to attend to the social amenities in the interview than in other relationships with the community. Although the idea of the interview is that of casual conversation between friends, it is the informant who will grant the friendship, and the interviewer should avoid any activities that might spoil the relationship--particularly of giving the impression of familiarity he has not yet been granted. Even lighting a cigaret can well be deferred until the informant makes it clear by his own actions that he has no objection. On the other hand, an interviewer should be happy to accept hospitality--of food or drink--so long as he makes sure he is treated as one of the family and not as special company. It is aptly said that the unofficial combat decoration for an experienced fieldworker is the Order of the Purple Stomach.[33]

Informants are often generous with their time, and in their pride may reject indignantly any offer to pay them. Some, however, expect compensation--in line with the practices of many surveys. Others could clearly use money or its equivalent, if it can be tactfully given. And even the well-to-do informant may find a spare afternoon or evening to complete an interview if the interviewer offers a donation to a church or a favorite charity. Since such a gesture may save a few days' waiting in a community (remembering that one should allow two days per interview, hoping that he doesn't have to use them all), a fieldworker should not hestitate to offer compensation when the situation calls for it--first assuring, of course, the completion. And a note of thanks later, or a Christmas card, will always be appreciated. People like to be remembered.

VIII

Not every community or interview goes smoothly. Sometimes the talent scouts cannot be located; sometimes they cannot immediately think of good informants. Sometimes informants refuse to talk, or break off the interview for various reasons. Some informants will complete an interview without enthusiasm, only from a sense of duty; some will never let their guard down; some will be so enthusiastically garrulous that the interviewer wonders if he will ever finish. But most of them will cooperate, and many will even thank the fieldworker for talking to them. And the fieldworker in turn will

get a sense of pride (especially if he's a city boy) on being told, "You must've spent a lot of your life on a farm to be able to talk things the way you do." Or he will be touched to hear an elderly informant say, "You know, you got me talking about things I hadn't thought about in years." And even the least imaginative investigator will come to realize from his work that language is more than a series of abstract formulae--it is the interaction of all kinds of human beings in all kinds of situations.

NOTES

[1]Of the nine investigators for New England, four of them--Chapallaz, Hanley, Hultzen, and Joos--had no further association with fieldwork. Reynard made six field records in Ohio, in 1933, and then left the scene. Lowman continued in the field until his death in 1941; he also participated, with Kurath, in the seminar in field methods at the first Ann Arbor Linguistic Institute (1936). Harris provided most of the training for the Iowa fieldworkers for Harold Allen's Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest (Allen 1972). Bloch was the most productive in developing fieldworkers: *inter alios*, Allen, Frederic G. Cassidy, Henry Collins, A. L. Davis, Norman Eliason, Raven McDavid, Virginia Glenn McDavid, Carroll E. Reed, David W. Reed, Lester Seifert. In addition to A. L. Davis and R. McDavid, who have assumed responsibility for the Atlantic Seaboard materials since Kurath's retirement, Bloch helped train five directors of regional surveys: A. H. Marckwardt (North-Central States), Allen (Upper Midwest), C. Reed (Pacific Northwest), D. Reed (Pacific Southwest), E. Bagby Atwood (Texas; see Atwood 1962). Inexplicably, the obituary of Bloch in *Language* (Joos 1967) barely mentions his twelve-year association with the Atlas project.

Many recent sociolinguistic projects have used relatively untrained investigators who (even more than other fieldworkers) have had to learn their skills on the job (*e.g.*, Shuy, Wolfram and Riley 1967). That such projects generally overlook the background material available in the regional surveys is understandable, if undersirable.

[2]The latter program, supported by the American Council of Learned Societies and sponsored by the Foreign Service Institute of the Department of State, naturally drew upon the analysis of English in Trager and Smith, 1949. As salutary as this activity was for the development of American linguistics, it had two unfortunate side effects for linguistic geography, in addition to the diversion of interest and personnel: (1) the notion, uncritically accepted as late as Nist 1966 (32-48), that the Trager-Smith analysis could accommodate all the contrasts in all varieties of English; (2) the charge, arsiversily, that the field records of the Linguistic Atlas are inadequate because they do not lead inevitably to the Trager-Smith analysis.

In truth, Trager-Smith 1949 is clearly tentative, and calls for testing against many regional and social varieties of English. Despite its transformational refinements in Sledd 1966, it still seems inadequate for the segmental phonemes of many Southern and South Midland dialects; for stress and pitch and juncture (whether these are "phonemes" or not is a matter of one's linguistic faith; compare, *e.g.*, Kurath 1965) there is still no systematic comparable evidence.

[3]Much of this activity (*e.g.*, Chomsky 1957 and 9 of the 23 papers in Fodor and Katz 1964) has been supported by the Department of Defense and its external fiscal agencies; see also Mehta 1971: 50.

[4]The fiction of a monolithic Nonstandard Negro English or Black English (with the syntactic monstrosity Child Black English as a sub-species) is a byproduct of this activity. In the chomskemic tradition (Udell 1964) the perpetrators of this fiction seem immune to data, though solid contravalent evidence has been available for years in the linguistic atlases, and indeed in the historical records from the British Isles.

[5]Stimulated by Charles C. Fries, the NCTE was the first professional organization to support the original Atlas project. It is also the first to contribute financial aid to the Gulf States project and to the editing of the materials from the Middle and South Atlantic States.

[6]Underwood's dissertation (Minnesota 1969) dealt with the speech of the Mesabi Range, and was based on original field work.

[7]Field work in Oklahoma was completed by Van Riper 1957-63, in Missouri by Gerald Udell in 1970; editing is proceeding on both projects. Udell used, essentially, the work sheets for the North-Central States, Van Riper a modification, with some items from the Upper Midwest version and some suggested by Atwood's work in Texas. Wise's Louisiana work sheets were an adaptation of the expanded version used by Lowman in his preliminary survey of the South Atlantic States (1933-35). See Davis, McDavid and McDavid 1969.

[8]Williamson 1968, 1970.

[9]Pederson's students are currently completing a survey of smaller Georgia communities, with an abridged set of work sheets.

[10]Preliminary networks for Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, and Western Georgia were sketched in the summer of 1970.

[11]Among these items are types of multiple negation, omission of relative pronouns, omission of the copula *be* and the auxiliary *have*, and the use of *be* as a finite verb.

[12]World values and community values may differ sharply. Traveler's Rest, in Greenville County, South Carolina, has produced no citizen more distinguished than the behaviorist psychologist John Broadus Watson, and the county very few; but though I grew up in Greenville, the first time I heard of him--at the apogee of his career--was in a psychology course at Furman University, taught by a Canadian-born philosopher. Although Watson was a Furman alumnus, he did not appear on campus officially while I was there. In contrast, everybody in the community knew and talked about Shoeless Joe Jackson, who plummeted from baseball stardom to disgrace as a result of him implication in the World Series scandal of 1919.

[13]Mannerisms not noticeable ordinarily, or even to a colleague participating in an interview, are painfully obvious on a tape. A good training exercise would be to take an interview tape at random, ask the student to listen and report, pointing out what has gone wrong (if anything) and suggesting how he might do better--and then check his own performance.

[14]Detailed comparisons are found in Kurath *et al.* 1939; less detailed in Shuy, Wolfram and Riley 1967. Empirically, those who received intensive training from Bloch, such as A. L. Davis and the McDavids, transcribe remarkably like each other, even in minute details.

[15]Kurath *et al.* 1939: 41-44.

Some sociolinguists are perturbed that the judgment of social class is made by the fieldworker on the basis of unquantifiable imponderables. However, an anthropologist would point out (as my colleague Julian Pitt-Rivers has frequently done) that (a) the fieldworker already knows something about the community (b) that the preliminary evaluation is made by members of the community--those who direct the fieldworker to the types of informants he is seeking (c) the final evaluation comes after a long face-to-face conversation in the community setting, and a chance to observe the kinds of people with whom the informant associates--a surer guide in the long run than house location or income.

[16]For the old-fashioned type, the older the informant the better, so long as he is able to stand two or three sessions of interviewing. Satisfactory informants have been found as old as 104. The best ones are still often found on marginal farms some distance off the main highways.

[17]The selection of cultivated informants today is more difficult than it was in 1931, when a much smaller proportion of the population attended college and when those who attended were assured of a serious exposure to the liberal arts tradition. Today almost everyone graduates from high school and about half go on to some form of college. To assure that the records represent the community traditions of cultivated speech, the fieldworkers must understand the status of the family and make use of both historical records and local evaluations. A Ph.D. of Ukrainian background who is the first member of his family to get through high school is less cultivated, in the broadest sense, than the daughter of an old family who attended a private finishing school and then got married.

[18]Older generation rural Afro-Americans of Type I are a particularly important group for the historical record, in view of recent discussions of the origins of the speech of urban Negroes in the North; they are the ones who would be most likely to retain authentic Africanisms as well as older English folk speech-forms. Authentic informants of this group are still fairly easy to locate; the same is true of the middle group in small towns--craftsmen and storekeepers. Because educated Afro-Americans often have cultural antipathies toward many things Southern, including Southern speechways, it is often difficult to get good natural community-based speech

from a member of this group; and educators and other public performers are even less likely than their white counterparts to be good informants. In terms of a Southern proverb, one should be wary of the person who turns his back on his raising, linguistic or otherwise.

[19]These observations about informant-types are particularly applicable to an over-all dialect survey (such as the regional atlases in the United States and Canada) which aims to provide a framework for establishing the affiliations of regional dialects with each other and with the dialects of the ancestral country (in this instance, the British Isles). For other types of investigation one may need to have many more gradations of informants, and types unsuitable for a regional atlas, including recent arrivals in the community and bilinguals of various degrees; the selection may approach that of a random sample. (Shuy, Wolfram and Riley 1967 attempted a random selection, but abandoned this in order to assure representation of important ethnic groups). Nevertheless, the interpretation of the data obtained in such studies should utilize the framework provided by the regional surveys; ignoring that framework has led to many misrepresentations of the significance of the features of a particular dialect--most notably in a number of urban sociolinguistic studies (Paddock and McDavid 1971).

[20]If there are several interviews in a given community, it hardly matters which one the investigator starts with. All things being equal, R. McDavid preferred to start with the intermediate type, which for him was the hardest to interview, since its little learning produced more cultural anxieties than felt by the less corrupted folk speaker or the assured genuinely cultivated. Other investigators have other preferences; practically, the interviews will be spaced out over several days according to the times when the informants are available, and one likes to get to work as soon as possible.

Sometimes--as with R. McDavid in Newberry, South Carolina (1946) a fieldworker may have as many as four interviews going at a time. This, however, is more strenuous than ordinarily recommended, since it does not allow time to relax, or to play back the tapes to discover what items (particularly grammatical ones) have already been picked up in conversation. In any event, what should determine the fieldworker's schedule is the availability of his informants. As a rule of thumb, one should allow two days in a community for each required interview, and hope for less.

[21]Exceptions occur, to be sure. Self-assured cultivated informants--particularly in the Old South--often smile at matters of alleged linguistic propriety. Since they are also likely to be sensitive to language variety, they may catch on rather early to the purpose of the interview. But even with them it is best to delay a discussion of the project till the end of the interview. For one thing, interspered mini-lectures interrupt the flow of what should be a close approximation of a conversational situation. For another, the promise of a full discussion--and it should be as full as the informant wishes (since the discussion will provide further conversational evidence)--may keep the informant attentive and cooperative.

[22]A fieldworker is hardly omniscient about folk culture; nor does he always have an opportunity of trying out his techniques first on a relative or old friend who grew up on a farm. But he can talk to regional historians; he can examine museums of folk culture, like that at Clemson College; he can examine entries in, say, Kurath 1949, Mathews 1951, P. Nixon 1947, and Atwood 1962; he may obtain suggestions about the format of his questions from the practices of Lowman and Bloch and Harris for New England (MS) or McDavid for the South Atlantic States (tape, MS notes). With experience he will develop his own routine; if he is a student investigator, with only one or two informants to interview, he will probably work in a community where he is known and will be able to keep his informants' cooperation till he has gathered his data.

[23]A good indication of the success of an interview is the relative amount of time taken up by the informant and the interviewer--something easy to discover by playing back the tape. The smaller the part taken up by the interviewer the better, so long as the responses are obtained.

[24]Some investigators are more reluctant than others to elicit by suggestion. Lowman did it freely. R. McDavid preferred to keep the situation conversational; his proportion of responses from free discourse is perhaps the highest of all investigators, though he worked before tape recorders were available. He would rather blank an item than force an unnatural response or inhibit the conversation of an informant. With good lightweight equipment, such as the Uher-4000, the conversational technique should be even more effective now than it used to be.

[25]Ideally, it is desirable to have both direct and conversational responses for items that are judged to be socially diagnostic--however accurate the judgment may be.

[26]One of the longest interviews by R. McDavid after he acquired experience as a fieldworker (early interviews proceed more leisurely, of course, since the interviewer is feeling himself out) took place on Beaver Island, Michigan. As an experiment--since he was introducing a new investigator to the mysteries of field work--he challenged local legend by interviewing the oldest and most garrulous native of the island. For practically every direct question, the informant responded with a story, so that the interview took seven three-hour sessions with the short work sheets. As the investigators left the island, a deputation saw them off, with the remark that this was the first time anyone had outlasted the old man in a conversation. A tape recording of the interview would have been a priceless record of syntax, to say nothing of local history and folklore.

[27]The informant should know from the outset that even his name will never be revealed.

[28]Here, too, surprises occur. In 1947 an illiterate Middle Georgia informant showed a deeper understanding of world affairs than the Eastern intellectuals who were then organizing the Cold War.

[29]Other investigations (*e.g.*, Shuy, Wolfram and Riley 1967 and O'Cain 1971) are designed with a shorter questionnaire and a fixed time limit. Under those circumstances the tension between completeness and naturalness is, if anything, aggravated.

[30]Again there are exceptions. Lowman is reported to have completed a long work sheet interview in a single four-hour session. In Livonia, New York, R. McDavid completed such an interview in a single six-hour session (followed by two hours of conversation until 3 A.M.); in Elmira, he completed interviewing a cultivated speaker in less than five hours, but in two sessions. Using the short work sheets, he was several times able to do an interview in a single long session of four hours or so, and once--with a cultivated Canadian--in slightly more than two; on two occasions, using the short work sheets,he did two interviews in a day. However, in all these situations there were experienced investigators who had worked out their routine of questioning. Lowman did a thousand interviews before his death; McDavid has done nearly six hundred.

[31]As pointed out, in arranging a working schedule one should allow an average of two days per interview, or four for a community, though experience, skill and luck will often shorten the time. Conversely unexpected difficulty in scheduling interviews, or even in identifying and locating informants, may stretch out one's stay in a community. For the earliest communities, or for the first communities in a region new to him, an investigator would do well to allow additional time.

The tape recorder does not materially shorten the time of interviewing. It provides a permanent record and catches more conversational responses than even the best fieldworker can note and write down. On the other hand, it cannot ask the question or probe for additional or alternative responses or think of future questions. What time is gained by not writing down the responses as they are given is far less than the time required to listen to a tape, transcribe, note conversational responses, and enter them in their proper places--perhaps four times the length of the interview itself (some time, of course, is spent under any conditions in transcribing the conversational responses in their proper places). But the division of effort between interviewing and transcribing is often profitable, since the skills of eliciting and impressionistic transcription do not always come together.

[32]For instance, casual conversation in many small Southern towns has indicated that education rather than age determines whether a person uses folk grammatical forms. Consequently, an investigator who discovers that the same cultural gradation occurs whether the informant is 91 or 19 may choose the former. Thus in some communities the Type II informant may be older than the Type I, and still adequately reflect the local social and linguistic situation.

[33]Even in rural areas, hospitality is not offered as generously as it was in the 1930s, when the self-sufficient family farm with a well-stocked pantry was more common; in cities it is unusual, though there are pleasant exceptions. The fieldworker should aim at reaching a natural break in the interview somewhat before the informant's normal mealtime. On some occasions it may even be possible to take the informant to lunch or dinner in a neighborhood restaurant, or to bring the makings of a meal. But if food or drink is freely offered, it should be taken in the same spirit--whether it is fried hog liver, squirrel stew, or homemade corn whiskey. It is the highest compliment--and an indication of the rapport that makes for a successful interview--when an informant or one of the family says, "We could've gone and kilt a chicken, but I 'lowed as how you didn't want to be treated like no preacher."

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FOLKLORE AND THE LAGS FIELDWORKER

Charles W. Foster

To the student of dialect geography, a discussion of folklore in a manual such as this should come as no surprise, despite the fact that the interest of what Raven McDavid has called the younger generation of structural linguists in the sociological, psychiatric, and anthropological aspects of linguistics has obscured the close relationship between linguistics and folklore, and has fostered in some individuals the attitude that the folklorist is no more than a collector of oddities--a compiler of lists, as it were, who is seldom helpful and sometimes harmful to "serious" linguistic study.

The dialectologist knows, however, that there is a close relationship between linguistic science and the study of folklore, and the relationship is both old and honorable. Both disciplines have a common source in the eighteenth-century European interest in the culture of the common man and in the assertion of his dignity in the face of the waning neoclassicism. The nascent period of both disciplines is dominated by men equally well-known in folklore and philology. The Grimms were the first European scholars to approach folklore systematically and analytically, thus setting it apart and making a place for it as a separate field of study. Jakob Grimm is as familiar to the folklore student as the collector of *Hausmärchen* as he is to the linguist as the scholar who revealed the systematic nature of the developments of the Indo-European consonant system,[1] and Max Müller's studies in Sanskrit led him to develop the theory of folklore that later came to be known as the theory of solar mythology ascribing differences in myths to the growing varieties of Indo-European dialects which were ultimately to become languages.[2] In Europe, linguists and folklorists have maintained their mutual interest; in America, collaboration has been to some extent obscured by differences in concentration and in the interpretation of data. But fieldworkers for the Atlas project have found the folklorists most helpful, and Kurath encouraged his fieldworkers to contact professional folklorists as soon as possible after going into a new territory.

In its earliest stages, the study of American Folklore was influenced primarily by the British folklorists and their orientation toward the collecting and preserving of the customs, speech, and manners of the common man. Mid-nineteenth-century romanticism included in its glorification of the common man a strong nostalgic interest in the homely aspects of his life, which were believed to be dying out. In 1846, William Thoms observed, in the article in which he presented his newly-coined *folklore* as a term to replace *popular antiquities:*

> No one who has made the manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs, etc., of the older time his study, but must have

> arrived at two conclusions:--the first, how much that is curious and interesting in these matters is now entirely lost--the second, how much may yet be rescued by timely exertion.[3]

The attitude which grew out of such a conviction was one almost of panic. The student worked, as it were, with the winged chariot ever at his back, trying heroically to snatch from oblivion every song, every remedy, every proverb, only to feel a crushing sense of loss at the informant's admission that he remembered only a fraction of the many songs or proverbs known to his mother, or to his grandmother. The belief that the study of folklore was literally a race against time and the concomitant appeal to the general public for volunteers to gather material in their home areas brought into the field what one scholar has called the "country vicar" type of collector--the amateur who saturates himself in the lore of a limited area, often pursuing items of personal interest and ignoring a great deal of other important material. In Btitain, the antiquarian attitude still prevails, to some extent. In America, this concern over the passing of the old ways led at first to intensive studies of "picturesque" regions such as the Appalachian mountains, and the emphasis was too often placed on collecting the strange at the expense of the pertinent but mundane data.

The development of the study of folklore as a science did not greatly alter its concentration on antiquarian interests. Such monuments of scientific and scholarly folklore research as the works of Child, Frazer, Sharpe, and Thompson[4] reflect the concern with tracing the evolution of the current form from the ancient lore. Whether or not one wholly supports what Dundes has called "the devolutionary premise"[5] in folklore theory, the fact remains that many scholarly studies--some of them recent--are devoted to such projects as tracing nursery rhymes back to sacred rituals. In American, this tendency is reflected in the not-so-scholarly studies purporting to find "pure" Elizabethan English in Appalachia, or tracing the development of a comic ballad to an origin deep in the complexities of Elizabethan politics.

The antiquarian interest in American folklore is of course a valid one and has, to be sure, produced valuable studies. To deny the premise of Thoms and his many later followers is to refuse to face reality, for many of the old ways *are* passing with alarming speed, and the attempt to record and preserve them before they vanish forever should be an important part of the study of folklore. Henry Glassie's scholarly study on types of cabins[6] is representative of the many folklore studies valuable in their preservation of passing forms, styles, and crafts. The Southern Highlands Literary Fund publishes *Foxfire*, a magazine devoted to the collection of the folklore of a relatively small area in Georgia, and the various folklore bibliographies frequently list studies concentrating on vanishing aspects of folk culture which merit scholarly study. The romantic notion that only the odd, the picturesque, or the antique deserves collection and analysis in folklore, however, has reigned supreme until recently, leading to the neglect of some current aspects of folk-life.

A recent trend in American folklore studies has been away from the devolutionary theory. Scholars contesting this theory are for the most part

adherents to what has become known as the "American folklore school" of folklore study.[7] The basic premise of this group is that the phenomena of American history have created an indigenous American folklore, no small parts of which are mass culture and industrialization. The chief proponent of this premise, Richard Dorson, concludes his *American Folklore* (Chicago, 1959) with the assertion that "[t]he idea that folklore is dying out is itself a kind of folklore."

To the scholars who make up this movement, the concept of folklore is that it is in a continuous state of becoming. City-dwellers, exposed to such mass-culture phenomena as saturation advertising, television, and motion pictures, develop a folklore of their own. Immigrants bring folklore from other regions and from other nations, and it merges in varying patterns as they gravitate to the cities. School children and college students (as well as members of the faculties) partake of or participate in a folklore which is reproduced in the oral tradition in the same way as the weather signs and proverbial lore of the popular antiquities, and the desk-top scribblings in an American classroom are as much a part of tradition as barn-symbols in Pennsylvania Amish communities.[8] Traditions develop in the urbanized trades and professions, and where tradition is established, one always finds a growing corpus of folklore--speech, tales, and songs. The folklore of occupations has been subjected to a good deal of study, but much is yet uncollected.[9] The recognition, however, that the lore of a modern, urbanized, industrial society is a modern folklore just as the machinists or laborers are modern folk is an indication that the area of concentration in American folklore is broadening to include an alignment with modern cultural trends.

In matters of evaluation and interpretation, the science of folklore also has made several changes. The early "country vicar" type of collector tended to be led away from any sort of analysis or evaluation of his material by the emphasis placed on collecting the strange rather than discovering the pattern. As McDavid points out:

> If the amateur is often able to catch a dialect word, or the formula for a folk remedy, which the scholar has not had a chance to observe, he as often does not distinguish between the truly local and the general; if the amateur is able to saturate himself in the speech and culture of a limited area and study it exhaustively, he often is unaware of the affiliations of his favorite community to the culture as a whole.[10]

This is not to say, of course, the the folklorist should conduct his fieldwork with the exclusive aim of discovering patterns, for the lore of an area, whether it is limited to that area or not, or whatever may be its distribution, is the primary concern of the collector. But he should be at pains to distinguish those aspects of his collected material which his area shares with the general culture from those which by their peculiarity set it off. The fact that children's skip-rope rhymes in a given area seem primarily to have evolved from the language of Old World religious rituals is significant only in its relation to the skip-rope rhymes of children in other areas, both adjoining and distant. In the forward to *American Folklore,* Dorson laments the fact that, among the current approaches to American folklore is that of ". . .

regional collectors, who drift into parochialism."[11] And Jan Brunvand, after listing nine questions, the answers to which should be the basic goal of folklore research, admits that

> . . . because past folklorists have tended to be specialists in one genre or region or technique, studies seldom considered more than one or two of these matters at a time, and very few specific types of folklore have been subjected to more comprehensive research.[12]

The establishment of American folklore programs on university campuses, and the growth of the American folklore school of folklore study led by Dorson has brought to the study of folklore a recognition of the importance of systematic scholarship. Consequently, much attention has been given to the systematic identification and classification of material gathered in the field, and the modern folklore scholar has access to reference works on motifs, superstitions, tales, proverbs, ballads, and riddles. These standard reference works are consulted by folklore archivists in arranging and annotating their materials, which are often cross-indexed by region and by ethnic background.

The existence of such folklore archives on college campuses has facilitated interdisciplinary exchange of material, and folklore scholars can now share methods and perspectives with other closely-related scholarly fields. The geographic study of the Ozark culture-region by Joan W. Miller is an example of such interdisciplinary use of technique and materials. Using material gathered by Vance Randolph as well as that resulting from her own fieldwork, Miller identified a distinctive culture region of eleven counties in the Ozarks. In the abstract of her study she asserts that materials gathered by folklorists

> . . . are of value to the cultural geographer as a source of documentation of settlement processes and may contribute to an understanding of the continuum of the changing occupancy of what is often a misunderstood and misrepresented region.[13]

No longer is the professional folklorist regarded as a sort of antiquary. The willingness of many modern folklorists to accept current professions and trades, urbanized groups, or socio-political movements as legitimate areas for the study of folklore, in combination with the development of rigorous standards of collection, analysis, and classification of material, antiquary and modern, has brought the science of folklore to the forefront as a field of scholarly endeavor in its own right, and has made it a valuable field of reference and consultation for related disciplines in the humanities as well as in certain of the sciences. But the path has been circuitous.

Before the organization of the American Dialect Society in 1889, studies of folk speech had concentrated, like the early folklore studies of speech, on oddities or antiquities, or they were conducted with an eye to gathering a body of "degraded" forms for condemnation and proscription. The ADS brought to the study of American speech an awareness of the importance of careful documentation and of maintaining a proper perspective regarding the relation of parts to the

whole. The practice of collecting for its own sake, into which many early folklorists fell, was implicitly discouraged in dialect fieldwork. A circular prepared by the Society during its first year stressed the importance of determining both the range of the usage collected and the provenience of the informant. An expanded statement, issued in 1912, revealed an awareness of the significance and value of the new as well as a deep reverence for the old and vanishing usages:

> Many [dialect usages] are survivals from older periods--decayed aristocrats of the language, perhaps worthy to be restored to their heritage; many are new words formed or adapted to meet a new need arising from new conditions, and so have gained, or are sure to gain, a place in standard English.[14]

Such early precautions, plus the obvious fact that the dialect geographer's field of study does not encompass as wide and varying a range of forms, or genres, as the folklorists's, have often protected dialect geographers from the pitfalls into which unwary folklorists stumbled. And although their paths have diverged, the distance between them has never been great. The American Dialect Society had its genesis at Harvard, the birthplace of the American Folklore Society, and followed it by only one year. Francis James Child was one of the key figures in founding the Society, and George Lyman Kittredge was a charter member. Both men were to become well-known as ballad collectors and editors. W. W. Newell, President of the American Folklore Society, attended the first organizational meeting and stated that ". . . the two societies could exist without overlapping and that they might profitably cooperate."[15]

The condescension with which many linguists regard the folklorists' work in regional and occupational speech is undeserved. Folklore studies have much to contribute to the study of dialects.[16] The concern of the folklorist with the collection of older traditional materials of a region's folklore, and his knowledge of the importance of preserving such material, is paralleled in dialect geography by the inflexible rule that at least one folk speaker (type I-A) be interviewed in every community in the grid system, no matter what the distribution of other informant types, so as to insure the value of the atlas in comparative studies and in tracing the movement of speech forms across regional and even national boundaries in diachronic studies. Folklore studies, even when not conducted with the precision of a professional scholar, usually aim at older natives of the area as sources of information, and provide a corpus of folk speech from which dialect geographers might draw. Collections which are based on intensive interviewing and recording, such as those of Wilson, Wood, and Randolph[17] may, despite minor faults in perspective, provide useful material for the dialect geographer. Interviewing for atlas records is conducted by wide sampling of representative informants, and studies which cover the area with more frequent sampling may contribute valuable supplementary material, clarify the social spread of usages, or suggest alterations either in the questionnaire or in the interviewer's approach or technique.

The folklore journals contain a good many essays on dialect by folklorists and dialectologists alike, in which the overlapping and cooperation of the two fields may be studied as partial preparation for work in the field. An understanding of the relationship of the two disciplines, and a knowledge of what

one has to offer the other should enable the fieldworker to follow through on possible openings for the pursuit of additional material should such openings occur during the interviews.[18]

Perhaps the best illustrations of the close relationship of folklore and dialect geography, as well as some of the most productive references for atlas fieldworkers, are the various publications dealing with fieldwork methodology. One cannot read the fieldwork guide by Goldstein[19] without seeing its many similarities with the McDavid essay in this manual. And the instructions and precautions put forward in the folklore articles on fieldwork are suggestive, and may frequently be used, with very little adaptation, in dialect geography fieldwork.[20]

Generalized folklore studies of the dialect of areas within the atlas region vary considerably in their value to the dialect geographer, partly because of the early concentration on strange or picturesque speech or because of the wide range of interpretations given the term *dialect*. But the fieldworker may find that such studies are nevertheless useful in providing a general idea of the folk speech of the area, and in allowing him to anticipate problem areas in the interview. The reader who wishes to use such studies should refer to Charles Haywood's *A Bibliography of North American Folklore and Folksong* (New York, 1961), which, although it contains some errors, is useful; to *Abstracts of Folklore Studies*, published since 1963 by the American Folklore Society, and containing the Society's annual bibliography since 1964; or to the annual bibliography in *Southern Folklore Quarterly*.

Items included in the atlas questionnaire are aimed, in specific sections, at eliciting folk speech on farming terms, household terms, calls to animals, fence types, types of foods, etc. Such terms also fall naturally into the domain of the folklorist, and studies devoted to the investigation of the variety and spread of such terms have been published in various journals. There will come a time in practically every interview when the fieldworker will sense that the informant is "open" to detailed questioning along certain lines, but when the interviewer is at a loss as to how to pursue it. A discrete verbal nudge from time to time may guide the informant into revealing a wealth of material that he had not mentioned because he had forgotten it, or because, in his attempts to second-guess the fieldworker or to anticipate the "correct answer" for which the interviewer is looking, he had neglected such material and had discarded it as irrelevant. Simply knowing enough about a subject to lead the informant into a discussion will often reward the collector considerably.[21]

The fieldworker who has some knowledge of the folklore of the region in which he is interviewing will usually find it a valuable aid for luring the informant into the free conversation which is so important a part of the interview. The intense regional and local pride shared by all southerners will usually thaw the most reluctant informant, for a man who can see no reason for the fieldworker's interest in his speech, and who therefore is suspicious, will not question a similar interest in the region or the community itself. I once recorded nearly two hours of practically uninterrupted monologue from an informant concerning a local sheriff who was something of a folk hero in his area, and whose name I happened to mention during the conversation following the interview.

Informants who deny outright that there is any "dialect" in their area acknowledge and take pride in the fact that their community has a particularly interesting haunted house, an outstanding banjo-picker or buck-dancer, a fine pack of 'coon hounds, or a bottomless lake. Such a line of questioning is productive in that it reverses the roles of the interview, making the informant the expert, and in this capacity he is more relaxed and his speech is more natural and free.

The study of dialect geography in the United States has made greater strides than the study of folklore merely because dialect research has been carefully managed from its outset and has produced better cooperation among groups of scholars working on large-scale projects. Had the study of folklore had the same concentration and cooperation, an atlas of American folklore might just as easily be in preparation as an atlas of American dialects. The recent use of folklore material by scholars in the social sciences has demonstrated the valuable contribution that folklore can make in interdisciplinary studies. Dialect geographers, however, have long known that folklore research could facilitate their work in regional speech, and the recent scholarly work done in both fields leads folklorist and fieldworker alike to look forward to a time when their cooperation will lead to a better understanding of regional America.

NOTES

[1]Grimm also postulated a common Indo-European ancestor for all European folktales analogous to the common ancestor from which Indo-European languages descended. This theory is no longer accepted.

[2]Although Müller's philological theories on Aryan mythology are now discounted by folklorists, his eminence as a scholar of the late nineteenth century brought a great deal of publicity to the study of folklore through his debates with Lang, and folklorists still regard much of his work highly. See Dorson (1955).

[3]Thoms (1846).

[4]Child (1882-1898); Frazer (1907-1915); Sharp and Campbell (1917); Thompson (1955-1958).

[5]Dundes (1969). The devolutionary premise assumes that, from the time of the golden age, folklore has undergone steady decay or degeneration, partly through the process of oral transmission, partly because it descends from higher to lower strata of society.

[6]Glassie (1968).

[7]Rysan (1971), 3.

[8]See, for example, Brunvand (1966); Dirks (1963); Dorson (1949) and (1959); Passin and Bennet (1943); Toelken (1968). Dorson (1959) discusses "Folklore of the Big City," "The Folklore of College Students," and "G.I. Folklore" in one chapter.

[9]McCulloch (1958); Freud (1954); Allen (1964); Splitter (1956); and Nettl (1957).

[10]McDavid (1958), 244.

[11]Dorson (1959), 5.

[12]Brunvand (1968), 11.

[13]Miller (1968).

[14]Pound (1952), 6.

[15]*Ibid.*, 5.

[16]For the general area of the LAGS project, the fieldworker should handle Brown (1952) volume I.

[17]Wilson (1965); Wilson has several chapters on folk speech in Thompson (1968). See also parts V and XII Wilson (1964) and (1967). Also Wood (1954-1962). These contain materials resulting from Wood's work in the upper Gulf States area. Primarily lexical. Also Randolph (1953).

[18]A brief list would include Burgess (1961); Pound (1945); Cassidy (1953); McDavid (1958) and (1968).

[19]Goldstein (1964) and (1968).

[20]For example, Harder (1955); Leach and Glassie (1968); Wood (1953).

[21]A few studies which might be helpful: Meredith (1951); Sherwood (1949); Prescott (1938); Harder (1959) and (1962); Boshears (1953); and Boone (1955).

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LINGUISTIC GEOGRAPHY AND THE CLASSROOM TEACHER

Charles E. Billiard

In the English teaching profession, there is an increasing awareness of regional and social dialects as significant dimensions of language instruction. Appointment of a committee by the Commission on the Study of the English Language at the 1971 NCTE Convention to study dialect differences and the teaching of standard usage is evidence of this growing concern. The interest among educators in the research of dialectologists promises much for improving the teaching of English and, consequently, for enhancing the social and economic opportunities of individuals handicapped by inadequately developed speaking, listening, writing, and reading skills. Furthermore, as English teachers become more knowledgeable concerning scholarly research in American dialects and more sophisticated in their attitudes toward language differences, they should become more effective in combatting the language prejudices of the general public.

As a carefully designed, systematic investigation of the speech of the Gulf Plains, the LAGS Project is basic research starting with the existing scholarship in the field and moving into the unknown--the regional and social language variations in an uninvestigated area. For the English teacher in elementary and secondary schools, such research may seem remote in terms of the everyday problems of classroom teaching. As with all scientific ventures, the discoveries that will have practical value cannot be predicted with certainty but only partially anticipated. That the investigation will give a more accurate and complete description of the living language of the region than is available today and will help dispell language myths is quite adequate justification for enthusiastic interest in the LAGS Project by English teachers, school administrators, and the general public.

Far too many half-truths and myths about American English still prevail among teachers and the educated public. In a recent edition of the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, a well-known columnist told of John Wesley's battle against the Southern drawl. Wesley, the father of Methodist hymnody, is quoted from the preface to his book *Sacred Melody*, printed in 1761, as urging his congregation to overcome their laziness which he believed contributed to their slow singing of church hymns:

> Take care not to sing too slow. This drawling way naturally steals on all who are lazy and it is high time to drive it out from us and sing all our tunes just as quick as we did at first.

The columnist then concludes that the hot climate prevailed, giving "the world one of its most pleasant accents as well as some of the longest sung hymns."[1] The dialectologist would detect three myths implied in the columnist's conclusions: (1) that climate directly affects dialect variations,

(2) that Southern speech is "slow," and (3) that one dialect or language is intrinsically more beautiful than another.

Unfortunately, in many school and college English classrooms in America, a monolithic concept of English usage persists, admitting no reality to the lively presence of regional and social dialects. Consequently, the cultivation of delight in cultural differences reflected in dialect variations and an awareness of the implications of dialect differences for the teaching of language arts and skills are largely unrealized. For instance, in Charlotte Mayerson's *Two Blocks Apart*, Juan Gonzales, a seventeen-year-old high school senior, says, "I'm not going out into the street and talk like that. They won't believe me." Juan, keenly sensitive to differences between the language of the classroom and his "real world," has learned to shift from one dialect to another as the occasion requires. For use in his world of reality, he rejects classroom language because he knows its use there would make him socially unacceptable. In speaking to his friends in the streets, he feels comfortable in saying "I ain't gonna do that."[2] Juan's use of nonstandard language is appropriate and necessary, necessary possibly even for survival in his relations with his peers. Insistence on the use of "standard English" for all communication in the classroom and a derisive attitude of the teacher toward the student's language often turn the classroom into a linguistic prison.

Too often the "standard English" of the classroom has little correlation with the realities of cultivated language usage in the school community. Thurston Womack and Paul Stoakes have found wide discrepancies between the facts of language and the opinions held by teachers concerning what appropriate usage is or should be. Wommack's investigation "Teachers Attitudes Toward Current Usage" demonstrates that the majority of teachers participating in his study still reject most usages that scholarly information shows to be acceptable.[3] On the basis of a survey of usage attitudes among teachers of Florida, Paul Stoakes concludes that secondary teachers differ so much among themselves on specific points of usage that their counsel becomes meaningless.[4] Compounding the problem, many elementary and secondary English textbooks fail to take into account variations in regional and social dialects. Jean Malmstrom's study of 205 textbooks reveals a discouraging lack of application of recent scholarship in dialectology as reflected in an uncompromising right-wrong dichotomy on usage matters.

Intensifying the need for teachers to be knowledgeable about variations in American English is the confrontation of regional and social dialects in both inner-city and suburban classrooms resulting from a highly mobile population seeking social and economic advancement in American urban centers. Negroes of a rural Southern background, migrating to Northern cities, transplant a regional dialect which often becomes a social dialect labelling the cultural level and limiting the economic opportunities of its users. Mexican-Americans, trying to escape the migrant stream, remain in urban centers after the harvest season, seeking employment. The cultural and language conflicts

experienced by these workers and their children are often traumatic. Likewise, rural Southern and Appalachian whites, American Indians, and Puerto Ricans find their dialects a handicap in new speech environments.

Why should children and adults, especially those who are economically disadvantaged, find themselves discriminated against in our society because of the way they use language? In recent years educational strategies for dealing with the language of poverty children have been based on two opposing theories: (1) that the language of poverty children is deficient and (2) that the language of these children is merely different from that of middle-class society. As an antidote for poverty the deficient theory recommends a strategy of cultural injection, the earlier the better. Preschool compensatory education, such as the Head Start Program, has attempted to give poverty children the language skills of middle-class children and those required by the educational system. The deficit theory puts the onus on the individual and his particular subcultural group. On the other hand, the difference position holds that language variations among various groups of people is a manifestation of cultural differences and that one dialect or language is as good, as well developed, as systematic as another. Insofar as education can help break the poverty cycle, the difference theory recommends major changes in the schools. The onus is placed on society and the schools, not on the individual and the subcultural group of which he is a member. Thus the difference position calls for polyculturally-oriented schools which accept the language and culture of the children rather than trying to change the language of children to conform to a mythical middle-class standard of usage.

The regional dialect investigations of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada Project have produced a wealth of evidence which discourages language prejudices and encourages respect for language variations in American English. A comprehensive description of Southern speech to be produced by the LAGS Project should further promote respect and admiration for the varieties of American speech spoken in many parts of the United States.

The importance of the teacher's attitude toward the language of the child can hardly be overemphasized. Williams summarizes extensive research which supports the hypothesis that a person's subjective responses to speech are stereotyped versions of his attitudes toward the individuals using that speech.[5] Further, research shows that the expectations of the teacher have a profound influence upon the performance of his students. Rosenthal and Jacobson in *Pygmalion in the Classroom* report evidence which supports a self-fulfilling prophecy of the teacher for his students. The teacher's expectations of his students' behavior can become a more accurate prediction simply because such a prediction has been made.[6] One of the significant generalizations from this research is that a part of the dynamics of a child's being disadvantaged is manifested in the attitudes of those around him; thus, if the teacher expects little of the child because of his use of nonstandard language, such a prophecy in effect will work against the child.

Rist's report of an observational study of one class of ghetto children during their kindergarten, first- and second-grade years corroborates the findings of Rosenthal and Jacobson. His study demonstrates the impact of teacher expectations based upon several subjective social criteria. One of the criteria--the use of language within the classroom--was considered a major factor by the kindergarten teacher in grouping the students. Students placed at the first table (the group for whom the teacher held the highest academic expectations) spoke primarily in "standard" English; whereas the children at the last two tables most frequently responded in "black" English. Within a short period, members of the group at the first table were "continually being called upon to lead the class in the Pledge of Allegiance, read the weather calendar each day, come to the front for 'show and tell' periods. . . ."[7] The first-grade and second-grade teachers continued the grouping of children on the basis of subjective social criteria and on the basis of past performance. By the end of the second year, the academic performance of the first group clearly fulfilled the prophecy of teacher expectations. The lower groups were socialized by the teachers for a role of lower expectations, and these students did indeed fulfill this prophecy. Rist concludes that such classroom practice, based in part upon language prejudices, maintains class barriers which perpetuate social and economic inequities in American society.

To enhance the life possibilities of minority groups who speak a non-prestigious dialect, several educational strategies based either on the deficit or the difference theory are commonly advocated: (a) educate the general public to respect and appreciate the dialects of minority groups; (b) train speakers of non-prestigious dialects to acquire as a second dialect the standard dialect of the community while retaining their original dialects; (c) attempt to extinguish the original dialect with the standard dialect. The practical-minded educator will not dismiss, as an objective in speaking-skills, mastery of the standard dialect while he wages a campaign to enlighten the general public about the validity of all American English dialects. It is equally unlikely that the idealistic-minded educator could be satisfied with rigorously training his students in the use of the standard dialect while dismissing the task of cultivating respect and admiration for the dialects of minority groups in his community. In fact, "to be tolerant toward--at times even to cherish--pronunciations and dialects different from one's own" is one of the representative objectives that leading English teachers posit, as reported by Lazarus and Knudson.[8] Research in linguistics, particularly dialectology, provides guiding principles for dealing with both problems.

Inferences concerning the social and cultural significance of dialect differences should be based on careful observation of actual usage. The LAGS Project will provide bedrock data needed for making intelligent generalizations concerning Southern speech. As Raven McDavid has observed, personal bias and theory unsupported by data simply will not do the job in the English classroom:

> It is easier to understand differences when they are specified, and it is easier to do something about them. Once we know how two or more varieties of the language differ in a given community, it should be easier to work out devices for ascertaining what speech features of the underprivileged group actually create the greatest interference with their social acceptance in the dominant culture. Once this is achieved, we may focus on those details; too much of our teaching of "correct usage" is *ad hoc*, based on tradition and personal bias, not on what the facts of the case happen to be.[9]

If educators are to participate effectively in dialect engineering, they must first listen to the dialects they would teach others to respect. They must also learn to distinguish specific features of the standard dialect of the community and the dialects of culturally different groups. Teachers should maintain wide-ranging contacts with various social and economic groups so that they can continuously refine their sensitivity to actual usage in the speech community.

The facts of actual usage thus discovered may be a revelation to many English teachers and present a challenge to revise instructional techniques and curriculum content in usage. For example, a black informant, a domestic having a lifetime association with a cultivated family in rural Northern Georgia, was found by an interviewer in the Dialect Survey of Rural Georgia to have preterit and past participle inflections for irregular verbs more closely approximating what most teachers would consider "Standard American English" than the forms used by most high school graduates interviewed in Northern Georgia.[10]

Awareness that usage is not fixed but changes and that it is not completely uniform even at the most highly educated levels makes untenable any claim to moral sanction for particular usage. Well-informed persons of every age have been aware of the dynamic nature of usage. For example, Quintilian assures us that ". . . usage is . . . the surest pilot in speaking, and we should treat language as currency minted with the public stamp."[11] He further assures us that educated Romans were not agreed in usage practice.

Unfortuanately, it seems persons of every age must rediscover the dynamic nature of usage. The chorus of outrage following the publication of *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* has hardly yet subsided. In analyzing the critical reaction in the United States to the Webster's Third, Marckwardt considers one of the major causes to be the failure of educators: "Actually, the furor over Webster III is a sad commentary on how inadequately the dictionary has been presented in the English classrooms of the nation, and how insufficiently English teachers are informed about one of the principal tools of their profession."[12] The front matter of *Webster's New International Dictionary* (Second edition) apparently had not been read by most English teachers, for this material clearly expresses

the editors' descriptive attitude toward language. The Webster's Third continues the descriptive approach, merely expanding the principle in actual practice. For example, the influence of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada on the Webster's Third is reflected in the adaptation of the terms for major dialect areas.

Hopefully, the LAGS Project will promote a more reasonable, informed attitude among educators toward language change. Data already gathered in the Dialect Survey of Rural Georgia strongly support such expectations. For example, Pederson reports evidence that the preterit *dove* is extending itself southward and westward in a region where the Middle and South Atlantic Atlas data show the preterit *dived* to predominate. The survey shows the past tense of *drag* to be *drug* among all types of informants in the upper Georgia area, and also provides information on regional and social distribution of other verb forms: *be* (positive and negative status, first and third singular, and first plural, present and preterit forms); *do* (third singular, present, preterit, and past participle forms); *have* (positive and negative status, third singular, preterit forms); *should* (negative status), and nine other verbs which are frequently realized in different ways in their preterit and participle forms by native speakers of American English. These include *buy, climb, drag, drink, eat, grow, ride, ring,* and *rise.*[13]

The potential usefulness of the LAGS Project and other Linguistic Atlas surveys in dealing with authoritarian attitudes toward language can be illustrated with examples from *The Oxford English Dictionary,* based unequivocally on the principle of objective description. *The Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* records, for example, that the preterits *dived* and *dove* have long competed as standard forms:

> 1867, Hayes, *The Open Polar Sea:* "The whole herd. . . dove down with a tremendous splash"; 1882, *New York Herald:* "Women dove headlong from the crosstrees into friendly and convenient nets"; 1889, *Coming of Friars:* "I at once dived into one of the boxes."[14]

Variations have also long prevailed in the past-participle form of the verb *drink.* For instance, the *OED* records the following variant forms:

> 1750, Johnson, *Rambler* No. 49: "He had drank many a flaggon"; 1813, Col. Hawker, *Diary:* "We having nearly drunk the landlord out of both his English and French wine"; 1884, Tennyson, *Becket:* "Ye have eaten of my dish and have drunken of my cup for a dozen years."[15]

The verb *drown* is also shown to have variants according to the *OED:*

> 1715, Swift, *Past Dial:* "In my own Thames may I be drowned"; 1838, Dickens, *Nicholas Nickelby:* "Just fill that mug up with lukewarm water, William, will you?. . .Why the milk will be drownded"; 1894, *The Daily News:* "Deserted cottages, whose tenants have. . . been drowned out."[16]

Knowledge of the diversity and change in language usage provides an excellent basis for combatting unreasonable and narrow-minded attitudes toward persons who speak differently.

Common sense tells us that if we don't like the way a person speaks, we may "tune him out." Research verifies that an unfavorable attitude of the listener toward the language of the speaker results in ineffective listening.[17] Since more than half of the time in a typical classroom is spent in speaking and listening, the attitudes of both students and their teacher toward language differences affect the teaching-learning situation. First, then, the teacher and students must be willing to "tune in" on the language of every member of the class. Second, the teacher must learn the specific features of vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation which tend to interfere with basic oral communication within the classroom. In surveys conducted by this writer in undergraduate and graduate English education classes, both experienced teachers and student teachers indicate they often have difficulty understanding the oral language of their students. One experienced high school teacher remarked, "After asking a student to repeat an answer, I feel embarrassed to ask him to repeat it a third time." Student teachers working with people from culturally different backgrounds express fear of not being able to interact effectively. These student teachers report that it often takes them several weeks in the classroom to achieve effective oral communication. The LAGS Project will provide useful baseline data on contrasting features of pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammatical structure for an indigenous population that is now on the move from rural communities into large urban centers in both the South and the North. For example, most of the recent Atlanta in-migrants are from the South. Approximately half of these arrivals during the period of 1960 to 1965 came from rural Georgia.[18] Although Southern teachers should be encouraged to rely upon their knowledge and appreciation of language variations within their native regions, the mobility of the population and the gradual breaking down of the caste system may present the teacher with students having unfamiliar speech features. A keen, sympathetic ear will help, but the teacher could be materially aided in understanding the speech of his students by a systematic knowledge of the regional and social varieties of Southern speech.

Believing in the viability of the language of all his students, the teacher would encourage oral expression without censorship of speech forms. Indeed a strong case can be made for no overt, deliberate meddling with the oral patterns of children for at least the first two or three years in school. Stimulated to speak, to listen to each other, to act out their feelings and ideas, to feel comfortable in the use of their native speech within the classroom, at least an atmosphere of acceptance and expectation of success can be established for many children. Within such a classroom climate, the teaching of reading and writing may well begin.

Certainly one of the most crucial and controversial issues facing American educators is how to cope more successfully with the problem of teaching inner-city children to read. Baratz and Stewart contend that the disadvantaged black

child is faced with an almost insurmountable task when asked to decode material written in middle-class standard English. He must, they maintain, not only decode the written words but also translate them into his own dialect. To perform this task, he must deal with a greater mismatching of letters (graphemes) and significant sounds (phonemes) in his dialect than must the middle-class child. He also must grapple with a syntactic system that has features unfamiliar to him. On the basis of a sentence-repetition experiment indicating that whites were superior to blacks in repeating standard English sentences, and on the other hand, that blacks were far superior to whites in repeating black nonstandard English sentences, Baratz recommends the use of initial reading materials written in the black child's dialect and "transition readers" that gradually move the child into reading texts written in standard English.[19]

Further research by Ames, Rosen, and Olson on the interference effect of the black child's dialect when attempting to read standard English texts raises serious doubts about the generalizations made in the Baratz study.[20] These and other reading researchers point out that the Baratz study does not measure the students' reading comprehension of the sentences used in the text nor the students' comprehension of connected discourse. Whether the black child's decoding of the standard text into his dialect actually interfers with the processes involved in understanding concepts and ideas symbolized in print is a question that remains unanswered. What the Ames, Rosen and Olson research does suggest in effect is that reading teachers must guard against confusing students' reading comprehension problems with dialect decoding variations; thus teachers should concentrate on teaching reading, not on "correcting" the child's speech.

The language experience approach offers another alternative to preparing reading materials in the dialect of the individual learner or to using materials written in standard dialect which the pupil is encouraged to translate into his dialect without penalty. This approach is based upon the view that reading can be most effectively taught when the materials accurately reflect the learner's own experiences as described in his own language. The technique introduces the child to reading instruction by means of stories he dictates to the teacher. From such pupil-dictated stories, the child develops an initial sight vocabulary peculiar to his experiences and oral language abilities.

For such an approach to work the teacher must (1) believe in the worth of the pupil's experience, (2) evidence respect for the learner's language, and (3) understand and accurately reproduce the speaker's language. For example, the teacher must be willing to accept the sentence "They bikes, they go fast" as an accurate and meaningful translation of the printed words "Their bikes go fast." The deletion of /r/ with the subsequent modification of the vowel makes the possessive pronoun *their* identical to the personal pronoun *they* and the insertion of *they*, traditionally considered word recognition errors, must be considered a meaningful reading of a standard English sentence.

Proponents of the language experience approach maintain that the method capitalizes upon the interrelations of the language arts. The initial student writing experiences grow out of, or are related to, the pupil-dictated stories

used to develop reading skills. Thus the first writing attempts of the child will be in his dialect. Growth in word recognition, spelling, speaking, and listening will be fostered as students engage in writing individual experience stories and reading them to their classmates.[21] Initiating reading and writing instruction among nonstandard speakers by means of the language experience method clearly requires the teacher's acceptance and understanding of the children's dialect variations.

Whatever the outcome of this controversy regarding teaching strategies and materials, additional regional dialect field work in the South will be important in helping the language arts and reading teachers. If the Baratz theory is eventually verified, then a much more exact knowledge of regional dialects will be needed. It cannot be assumed that the sociolinguistic data for Detroit, Chicago, New York, or Washington can be extrapolated with accuracy to uninvestigated regions of the country. On the other hand, if one of the major problems in the teaching of reading is that many teachers cannot or do not discriminate between reading errors and dialectal variations and thus discourage students unnecessarily by correcting pronunciation and syntactic "errors," then a critical need exists to provide accurate descriptions of regional and social dialects in the Gulf Plains area. Likewise, the teacher using the language experience approach should be aided materially by concise descriptions of speech differences in the South.

Beyond aiding in the teaching of basic language skills, the LAGS Project has significant implications for the study of literature. At least two educationally useful possibilities come to mind: (1) generation of interest in how the literary artist uses dialect to reveal character and (2) stimulation of the systematic study of the literary dialects in the works of such authors as Rawlings, Warren, and Faulkner. In the study of literary dialects, Ives, Downer, Foster and others[22] have made use of linguistic atlas findings in other parts of the country, and it is reasonable to expect comparable work to be done in the Gulf States when the evidence from the field is interpreted.

Whenever a person in literature speaks, he reveals a multi-layered set of dialectal features and clues to help readers understand him. The possibilities of challenging students to examine language carefully for clues to meaning, to delve beneath the surface for meaning, are suggested by Lazarus:

> . . .Whenever a speaker in literature or life makes an utterance, he always reveals one (or more) of the following: his historical era, his geographical stance (country, region, locality), his age (infancy, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, senility), his sex (male, female, effeminate, tomboyish), the age and sex of his audience, the nature of his audience (from intimate to public), his formal education (lack of education, half education. . .), his socio-economic status (a continuum from slave through various kinds of followers. . .leaders. . .power elites), his cultural milieu's values, sports, and pastimes.[23]

An appreciation of dialect differences and an understanding of how language reveals character can indeed be achieved through the study of major works of

literature. Skillful writers often make subtle use of dialect to convey meaning in delineating and contrasting characters and creating local color and humorous effects. Among the many works especially appropriate for this kind of study on the secondary level are Shaw's *Pygmalion*, Faulkner's *The Town*, Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*,[24] and many of the works of Mark Twain.[25] In studying *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, for example, students can be asked to find characteristic dialect features--vocabulary, pronunciation and eye dialect, grammatical structure--in each character's speech; to contrast the speech of various characters; to determine the cultural level and functional variety of utterances--*i.e.*, to make inferences about the education, environment, and socio-economic status of the speaker. A study of the language of the Duke and the Dauphin, for example, can provide much linguistically educative fun and profit. In giving instructions to the Dauphin for playing Juliet, the Duke, though comparatively more literate than the Dauphin, reveals certain idiosyncracies:

> You mustn't bellow out Romeo! that way, like a bull--you must say it soft, and sick, and languishingly. . .she (Juliet) don't bray like a jackass.[26]

Here the vocabulary, aside from the humor, reveals the Duke's personality. Something of the charlatan and half-educated is revealed in these words, particularly in the incongruity of his vocabulary. The predominance of such words as *bellow*, *bray*, *bull*, and *jackass* betray a dialect of a rural background, while the word *languishingly* sounds strangely alien if not pretentious in this context. The study of language within the context of a literary work offers many possibilities for sharpening the students' sensitivity to cultural levels and functional varieties of language as well as increasing their ability to read imaginative literature with greater understanding and enjoyment. For the literary or linguistic scholar, the LAGS Project should provide the basic framework for objective study of the literary dialects in such works as Faulkner's *Light in August*, Warren's *All the King's Men*, and G. W. Harris' *Sut Lovingood's Yarns*.

The investigation of regional and social dialects of the Gulf Plains States offers an unusual opportunity for linguistic and literary scholars, English teachers, school administrators and publishers of educational materials to engage in useful communication and support of each other. Too often in the past English teachers, school administrators, and publishers have failed to use the basic research available in American English. It is not too much to hope that the language data produced by the LAGS Project will be applied to the development of more realistic and effective English programs in the schools.

NOTES

[1]For a comprehensive discussion of the factors contributing to the development of regional dialects, see McDavid (1963).

[2]Mayerson's case studies of two teenagers, Peter Quinn of middle-class Anglo-American background and Juan Gonzales of lower-class Spanish-American origin, demonstrate the power of social pressures in determining language usage.

[3]For a carefully developed definition of standard English usage, see Gove in *Contemporary English; Change and Variation*, Shores, ed. (1972).

[4]*E.g.*, Stoakes in his Florida usage survey reports that on six items out of nineteen, the teachers divided almost evenly with the range of acceptance running between 45% and 55%. He also observes that when teachers reject usage items, they are much more likely to discredit the findings of scholarly studies than to accept the evidence presented in such investigations. Stoakes contends that teachers simply have not been educated adquately in the content area of usage and are generally unaware of the reputable body of knowledge about usage, especially the findings concerning usage recorded in the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada.

[5]Considerable evidence for the stereotype hypothesis has been gathered by Wallace Lambert and his associates at McGill University, Canada. Williams (1970) further speculates that stereotypes have an effect upon speaker and listener behavior in relation to each other and how they perceive each others' messages.

[6]Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968), hypothesizing that an experimenter's attitudes could inadvertently bear themselves out by influencing the behavior of experimental subjects, told teachers that certain students were "spurters" or "bloomers." These students were actually selected at random. Gains in IQ scores and other achievement indexes were found to favor these designated students as compared with the remaining students.

[7]Rist (1970), 411-51. Williams (1970) supports Rist's finding and places the responsibility on the mainstream of society for reducing conditions which perpetuate and increase ethnocentrism. For example, the child of the mainstream society should learn in school to recognize and respect cultural differences; thus antipoverty preschool programs should incorporate insofar as possible the full range of children in American society, rather than isolating minority group children and stereotyping them as disadvantaged.

[8]Lazarus and Knudson (1967), 2.

[9]For a further discussion of the need for linguistic description in devising instructional strategies and language materials, see Shuy (1972), 331-45.

[10]Pederson (1972). These data gathered in the Dialect Survey of Rural, the experimental program preceding the LAGS Project, further emphasize the need for a comprehensive description of Southern speech.

[11]The principle of appropriateness of usage was recognized by the ancient classicists. Aristotle, for example, suggests in contemporary vein" . . . to each class and habit there is an appropriate style. I mean in reference to age--child, man, or old man; to sex--man or woman; to country--Lacedaemonian or Thessalian." Aristotle [1926] (1947), 379.

[12]Marckwardt (1963), 339. Evans (1963) in answering adverse critics of the *Webster's Third International Dictionary* implies criticism of English teachers for failing to teach the proper purpose and use of the dictionary. The hostility of many reviewers seemed to indicate that they did not know how to use a dictionary and were "unable to read the Third International and unwilling to read the Second."

[13]Pederson (1972).

[14]Murray *et al.* (1933), Vol. III, 547.

[15]*Ibid.*, 667-68.

[16]*Ibid.*, 688.

[17]*E.g.*, Nichols (1967) in discussing major factors contributing to ineffective listening identifies criticism of the language of the speaker as one of the worst listening habits in America today. In a study directed by McDavid and Austin (1966), the reactions of Chicago natives to various pronunciations of single words were analyzed to determine which pronunciations function as social markers. This research shows that pronunciation is a significant linguistic feature in eliciting negative and positive attitudes in listeners. These researchers suggest testing tentative conclusions reached for the Chicago metropolitan area for applicability in other inland Northern, Eastern, and Southern communities.

[18]In addition to these demographic considerations, Pederson (1970) outlines the social problems and points out other factors which complicate the dialectal situation for Atlanta (*e.g.*, its position on a probable dialect boundary between Upcountry Lower Southern and South Midland Speech; its influence as a potential focal area positioned on the fringe of several relic areas).

[19]Baratz (1969), 92-116.

[20]Ames, Rosen, and Olson (1971), 63-70. Anastasiow (1971) found that inner-city children, when asked to repeat sentences, changed them to conform to their own dialect patterns, but when tested for comprehension of these sentences they performed at a high level of achievement. Anastasiow suggests that in teaching beginning reading we have focused on peripheral aspects of language (phonology and morphology) rather than on more central matters of semantics and syntax.

[21]Cramer (1971), 33-39.

[22]*E.g.*, Ives (1950a, 1950b, 1954, 1955), Downer (1958), C. W. Foster (1968), and several titles described by McMillan (1971), 151-160.

[23]Lazarus (1965), 2.

[24]See, *e.g.*, Costello (1959).

[25]For discussions of literary dialects in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, see Rulon (1967) and Pederson (1968).

[26]Twain [1885] (1961), 70.

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THE *LAGS* WORK SHEETS

The LAGS work sheets are organized after the format established by Hans Kurath for the *Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada.* This 108-page text (104 numbered pages and four added (A) pages) was used in the survey of the Middle Atlantic and South Atlantic States which immediately followed the completion of fieldwork for the *Linguistic Atlas of New England.* No fewer than 20 other American and Canadian dialect surveys have developed work sheets from this basic design, and most of these instruments are described in *A Compilation of the Work Sheets of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada and Associated Projects,* edited by Alva L. Davis, Raven I. McDavid, Jr., and Virginia G. McDavid, University of Chicago Press, 1969.

The principal difference between the LAGS work sheets and those used in other projects in North American dialectology is that here contexts are regularly given for each item and additional suggestions are provided to assist beginning fieldworkers and student interviewers. Every fieldworker, however, eventually develops his own style, and that method reflects his experience--the approaches that have been most productive in eliciting the information he seeks. The contexts and suggestions included here are intended to clarify the aim of an item and to indicate ways in which others have successfully investigated a particular problem: *the contexts are never to be taken as set phrases to be read or mechanically recited by the interviewer.* Indeed, one of the most distinctive and salutary characteristics of American dialectology has emerged through Kurath's steady insistence upon open-minded inquiry, *e.g.,* his first recommendation in "Instructions for Field Work" in the *Handbook:*

> Beware of preconceived notions. Do not be misled by what you know, but trust your eye and ear. Rejoice in discovering new facts, and in having your expectations disappointed. Alertness and keenness of perception are the important factors in this work.

One need only compare the approaches of his ablest fieldworkers, Bloch, Lowman, and McDavid, to recognize the variety of procedures used by the very best investigators.

Following another precedent of Kurath in New England, we have designated certain items as obligatory only in the *long work sheets* (the unabridged form which is to be used in at least one interview in every community, preferably when interviewing a representative of an old local family, usually an elderly Type I informant). The number preceding such an item is encircled in the compilation below, and these items can be omitted in a short interview situation, *e.g.,* when time is not available to conduct a full interview, in urban communities, in interviews with younger informants (under age 40) where much of the subject matter might be unfamiliar, and in those other instances where several interviews are being collected to investigate the linguistic complexity of a comparatively small geographical area. As a general rule, the full form

should be used wherever feasible and as much free conversation as possible should also be recorded, especially in the short interviews which depend on that source for most information on grammar and usage. The *short work sheets* (the abridged form which excludes the encircled items) are primarily intended for those situations when the fieldworker finds himself limited in time and wants to get as much basic information as possible.

The symbols and abbreviations in the work sheets include:

(1.): an encircled number indicating an item which may be omitted in a short interview situation;

<u>one</u>: an underlined work or phrase indicating an item which is to be pronounced by the informant because it is to be used in the phonological analysis;

(one): parens set off parts of the sentence which provide the usual context in which an item is elicited, but these contexts are not necessarily transcribed by the fieldworker, *e.g.*, in "the lake) froze over (last night," "the lake" and "last night" are contextual elements; "froze over" is the phrase to be investigated;

/gesture/: comments in the entry line placed between virgules are directions or suggestions for the fieldworker;

[or]: bracketed information in the sample indicates contexts and editorial additions;

(or): parenthetical information in the sample contexts indicates suggestions of individual fieldworkers;

*: an asterisk in the entry line precedes each synonym, and such synonyms are to be understood as representative of the kinds of synonyms which have been elicited by other fieldworkers in various parts of the United States and Canada;

B: Bernard Bloch's method of inquiry in New England;

H: Rachel S. Harris's method of inquiry in New England;

L: Guy S. Lowman, Jr.'s method of inquiry in New England;

M: Raven I. McDavid, Jr.'s method of inquiry in the North Central, Middle Atlantic, and South Atlantic States;

P: Lee Pederson's method of inquiry in the Gulf States.

1

1. one; two

2. three; four

3. five; six

4. seven; eight

5. nine; ten

6. eleven; twelve

7. thirteen; fourteen

   B: Count in groups of 4.
   H: Count from 1 to 14.
   L: I want you to do some counting for me. What is the first number? Next? Next? ....
   M: Count from 1 to 20 slowly.

8. twenty; twenty-seven

   B: The number after 19 is ___; after 26 ___.
   H: Two times 10 is ___; 3 times 9 ___.

1A

1. thirty; forty

   B: The number after 29; after 39.
   M: Three times 10; 4 times 10.

2. seventy; one hundred; one thousand; one million

   B: The number after 69; after 99; after 999.
   M: Seven times 10; 10 times 10; 10 times 100; 10 times 100,000

3. the first (man); second; third; fourth; fifth; sixth; seventh; eight; ninth; tenth

   B: If there is a line of men standing somewhere, you say the man at the head of the line is the ___; after him is the ___....
   H: You would say Sunday is the ___day of the week; Monday is the ___....
   L: If six men were to walk into the room and you looked up as they started to come in, you say "Which man? Not the last man, but the ___." The next man would be the ___....
   P: If the last man in a line is the eleventh man, who is in front of him? In front of him....

4. all at once *to once

M: Sometimes you feel you get your good luck just a little at a time, but your bad luck comes____.

5. twice as good

L: If he said it more than once, he would be saying it ___.
M: Last year I got 20 bushels to the acre; this year I got 40 bushels; this year's crop was just ___.

6. January; February; March; April; May; June; July; August; September; October; November; December

M: The first month of the year is ___. The next month? After February comes ___, then....
P: Name the months of the year.

2

1. Sunday; Monday; Tuesday; Wednesday; Thursday; Friday; Saturday *Sabbath

M: The day after Monday is ___. The next day? After Wednesday comes ___, then....
P: Name the days of the week. What does Sabbath mean?

2. good morning! /until what time?/

B: If you meet someone during the early part of the day, what do you say as a greeting?
H: When you meet someone in the morning, what do you say? Until what time?
L: What do you say when you meet someone when you first get up?
M: When you meet someone about 11 o'clock in the daytime, how would you greet them?

3. afternoon /the part of the day before supper; when does it begin and end?/

H: Part of the day before noon? Part of the day before supper?
L: Part of the day before supper?
M: What do you call the part of the day after you stop saying Good Morning? How long does afternoon last?

(4.) good day! /in meeting? in parting?/

H: What do you say when you leave people? Do you ever say "Good day?" When?
L: What can you say by way of greeting any time of day? Do you say "Good day" when you meet them or when you leave them?

M: If you left someone at 11 o'clock in the daytime, would you say anything?

5. evening /the part of the day after supper/ *night

B: Part of the day after supper?
H: Part of the day after supper? What do you call it after you go to bed?

3

(1.) Do you say "Good night" in meeting?

M: What would you say when you're saying good-bye, when you're leaving someone's house at night?

2. We start work before) sunrise *sunup /get synonyms and a sun- form/

B: If a man has to get up and start working just as the sun comes into sight, he says he had to start at ___.
L: Speaking of the sun, you say we started to work before ___.
M: On the farm you start to work before daylight; you say we started to work before ___.

3. The principal parts of rise

L: What time did the sun rise this morning? You say the sun ___ at six.
M: We were a little late this morning, when we started out in the field, the sun had already ___.
P: I saw the sun) rise.

4. We worked until) sunset *sundown /get synonyms and a sun- form/

B: If he worked until the sun went out of sight, he had worked until ___.
L: [With 3.2] and we worked until ___.

5. yesterday

H: Today is Monday. Sunday was ___.
L: The day before today is called ___.
M: If it is Wednesday (or whatever day it is), Tuesday was ___ and Thursday will be ___.

6. He came) Sunday a week /record equivalents/

M: If somebody came on Sunday, the last Sunday, if he came a week earlier than last Sunday, you'd say he came here ___.

7. Is he coming) Sunday a week? /record equivalents/

M: He's going to leave next Sunday; a week beyond Sunday would be what?

(8.) fortnight

M: If somebody stayed from the 1st to the 15th, you'd say he stayed about ___.

4

1. tomorrow

L: Monday is today; Tuesday will be ___.
M: [With 3.5]

(2.) What time is it? *What time do you have? *What time are you? *What o'clock is it?

M: If you want to know the time of day, you ask somebody ___?

3. a gold) watch

B: Then what does he pull out of his pocket to look at?
H: The thing you wear on your wrist to tell time with.
L: What do you tell the time by in your pocket?
M: After you ask him, he'll say, "I have to look at my ___."
P: On my wrist I have a ___.

4. half past seven /7:30/ *after seven /get synonyms and a half- form?/

L: Midway between seven o'clock and eight o'clock you'd say it's ___.

5. quarter of eleven /10:45/ *to, *till /get synonyms and a quarter- form/

L: If it's 10:45, what time do you say it is?
M: Then if it's about fifteen minutes later than half past ten, you'd say it's about ___.

(6.) For quite) a while *a spell

L: If you've been doing something for a long time, you might say, "I've been doing that for quite ___.

7. this year

B: You might say, "The farmers got a pretty good crop last year, but they are not going to get such a good one ___."
H: You'd say that 19__ was last year, and 19__ is ___.
M: Business wasn't very good last year, but I hope it will be better ___.

(1.) He is) three year(s) old

H: If a child had just had his third birthday, you'd say he is ___.
L: The child was born in 19__; how old is he today?
M: How old is your dog or baby?

2. a year ago

H: If something happened on this day last year, you'd say it happened exactly ___.
L: Last September (or whatever month it is) would be just about ___.
M: Something that happened about this time last year, you'd say it happened ___.

3. clouds

M: You look up at the sky and say, "I don't like the looks of those black ___."

4. It's a) nice day *pretty day, *fine day

B: On a day when the sun is shining and there are no clouds in the sky, what kind of day do you say that is?
L: If you like the weather out, you'd say, "It's a ___ day."
M: You look up at the sky and there are no clouds around and say, "I believe we're going to have a ___."

5. It's a) gloomy day *smurry, *glummerin', *lowery day

B: On the opposite kind of day, if it's not raining, but the sky is covered with clouds, what kind of day do you call that?
H: If it was very cloudy and overcast, you would say it's a ___.
L: If it's not a nice day and the sun is not shining and bright, you'd say it's a ___ day.

6. The weather is) changing /when rain or snow is expected/ *breaking, *gathering, *turning, *threatening

B: If it's been fair and then the clouds come and you expect rain or snow in a little while, you say the weather is ___.
H: If the clouds are coming and it begins to look like rain or snow, you'd say, "The weather is ___."
L: If rain or snow is expected, you'd say the weather is doing what?
M: The clouds are getting thicker and thicker and you figure you may be going to have some rain or something, you'd say ___.

7. It looks like it's going to) clear up *fair off

B: If it's been cloudy, and then the clouds pull away and the sun comes out, you'd say the weather is ___.

H: If it had been rainy, and now the clouds began to break and the sun began to shine, you'd say, "Well, at last it's ___."
L: If the sun comes out after a rain, you say the weather is doing what?
M: If the clouds were opening up and you could see a blue sky and the sun was beginning to shine, you'd say, "I believe it's finally ___."

6

1. heavy rain /of short duration/ *goose drownder, *cloudburst, *downpour *downfall, *gully washer, *trash mover, *lightwood-knot floater, *wet rain

B: What do you call a heavy rain that lasts only a little while?
L: If you have a lot of rain that comes down all at once, you'd say you have a ___.
M: If you get a heavy rain or a hard rain, if you've had about an inch of rain in about an hour, you'd say you had a regular ___.

2. thunder storm *thunder shower, *tempest, *storm, *electric(al) storm

H: What do you call a storm that has thunder and lightning?
L: If there is thunder and lightning with it, you have having a ___.
M: Then suppose there is a lot of lightning popping and so forth, along with your wind and rain, you'd say, "We had a ___."

3. principal parts of blow /ask, "Do you ever have any bad winds around here?"/

B: If the wind was very high during the night, you'd say, "All night long the wind ___."
H: If you have a very hard wind, you'd say, "Yesterday the wind ___."
L: The rain poured and the wind ___ hard.
M: I just got some clothes hung up on the line when the wind came along and ___.
P: That was bad, but it has ___ even harder than that in years past.

(4.) The wind's) from the south *to the south(w)ard

M: If the wind is coming from that direction [point with your hand], you say the wind's ___.

(5.) southwest wind; southeast wind; northwest wind; northeast wind

M: A wind halfway between south and west you call a ___. Halfway between south and east you call a ___. Halfway between east and north is ___. Halfway between west and north is ___.

6. a steady drizzle *sprinkle, *shower /get all varieties of precipitation and their meanings from mist to storm/

B: If it's raining, but not raining very hard, just a few fine drops coming down, you'd say it's ___.

H: If it's beginning to rain, but not raining and not a fog, it ___.
L: If the rain is just coming down in fine little driblets, instead of stopping, you say the rain is still ___ on.
M: If you had a rain that didn't last very long, you call that a what? If it's not as much as a shower, just barely laid the dust, what would you call that? The kind of rain that might have been coming down and you could walk a mile in and hardly get wet, what would you call that?

7. fog; foggy

B: What do you call the heavy white mist that comes out of the river?
H: What do you call it when it is very damp and you can't see through it? If the weather is like this, it is very ___.
L: Something thick in the air so that you can't see ahead. You say the air is very ___.
M: You get up in the morning and can't see across the road; what would you say about that? What kind of day would you say that was?
P: What makes the Smoky Mountains smoky? When you are up there, though, it doesn't always seem quite so ___.

7

1. drought /long or short duration?/ *drouth, *dry spell

H: If no rain comes for weeks and weeks, we are having a ___.
L: When it goes without raining for weeks at a time, you say you are having a ___.
M: If you've gone a couple of weeks without rain, you'd call that a what? Now you get a dry spell and it lasts about six weeks, long enough to hurt the crops; what would you call that?

2. The wind is) picking up *breezing up fresh, *rising, *coming up, *blowing higher

L: The wind has been very gentle and it is gradually getting stronger; you'd say it's doing what?

3. It's) letting up /strong wind? light wind?/ *laying, *going down, *easing up

L: If it is just the opposite and the wind has been strong and is getting weaker and weaker, you say it's doing what?

(4.) It's) rather snappy (this morning *airish, *edgy, *fresh, *sharp, *chilly, *keen

B: On a morning in the fall when you first go outdoors, if you find it is cold, but not disagreeably cold, the kind of weather you like to be out in, you say, "This morning it's rather ___."

H: When you went out this morning, what did you say?
L: If you come out on a cold morning in the winter and the air seems to go right through you, you say it is kind of what this morning?

5. We have a) frost /light or severe?/ *a freeze

H: If it was cold enough to kill the tomatoes and flowers, you might say, "Last night we had a ___."
L: If there is a white coating on the ground in the morning, you say you had a ___.

6. The lake) froze over (last night /thick or thin? entire surface or just the edges?/ *friz, *skimmed, *skum(med), *scaled over

L: It was so cold last night the lake did what?

7. principal parts of freeze

M: If it gets much colder tonight, the pond might ___.
P: It had ___ before I got out there.

8. sitting room /where guests are entertained/ *big room, *big house, *parlor *front room, *living room, *best room, *hall, *keeping room

H: What do you call this room? What do you call the room where the family lives? If you have two such rooms, what do you call the better one?
L: The place in the house where you have chairs for people to talk who come to call.
M: What do you call the room used for special occasions?

(9.) The room is nine) feet (high *foot, *foots

Speaking of rooms and their height, you say this room is about nine ___.

7A

Make a floor plan of the house and name the rooms /have the informant draw the sketch if possible; get a complete drawing of the house he lives in now; get a complete drawing of the old homestead if he has moved since boyhood/

1. chimney /of a house and of an industrial plant/

   M: The smoke goes up through the ___.
   P: Would you have a different name for a similar thing at a factory?

2. hearth /on fireplace? raised shelf on a stove?/ *hearthstone

   L: The open place on the floor in front of the fireplace.
   M: What do you call the front of an old-fashioned stove?

3. andirons *dog irons, *fire irons, *handirons, *(fire) dogs

   M: In the fireplace the things that you lay the wood across?

4. The lamp is on the) mantle *mantle shelf, *mantle piece, *tussock, *clock shelf, *fireboard, *mantleboard, *mantle tree

   L: Up above the fireplace to set vases on.
   M: What would you call the place above the fireplace where you might put an ornament or picture or something like that?

5. backlog *log, *backstick, *chunk /get synonyms and log/

   M: The big round piece of wood with the bark on it that you burn in the fireplace.

6. lightwood /fatty kindling sticks for starting a fire; are kindling and lightwood different?/

   M: What would you call the kind of wood you use to start a fire? How about something you'd get when you cut down a pine tree, rich wood you could light directly from a match?

7. soot; white ashes

   H: What do you call the black that forms in the chimney?
   L: What's left in the fireplace when the fire goes out? If someone asks you the color, you would say ___.
   M: What do you call the black stuff that the smoke might leave in the chimney? This was a fire that burned down and left nothing but the ___.

8. chair

   M: What am I sitting in?

1. sofa /describe and get descriptions of similar types/ *lounge, *couch, *chesterfield, *davenport

   H: What do you call the long piece of furniture that went with the horsehair set in the best parlor? What other types of things were similar?
   L: A larger piece for two or three people to sit on, with two arms and a back.

2. chest of drawers /describe and get descriptions of similar types/ *dresser, *bureau, *chiffonier, *chifferobe

   L: The piece of furniture in your bedroom that has drawers in it and that you put clothes in. Did you ever hear of an old-fashioned piece with any other names?

3. bedroom *chamber, *sleeping house /special names for an alcove containing a bed?/ *sink bedroom

   L: The room where you sleep is called ___. /If not gotten 7A/

4. furniture *house fixings, *plunder, *tricks

   M: These tables, chairs, and sofa, what do you call them?

5. window shades /shades on rollers/ *blinds, *curtains

   H: Thing hanging at the window to keep out the light? Lace ones? Wooden ones outside?
   L: What do you pull down at the windows?
   M: Those things that you pull down to shut out the light, what would you call those? If they're on rollers and you pull them down, what would you call them?

6. clothes closet /built in/ *clothes press, *closet, *press, *wardrobe

   L: A little room off the bedroom to hang up your clothes in?

7. wardrobe /movable/ *wardroom, *clothes press, *press, *armoire

   M: If you didn't have a built in closet, what might you have?

8. attic *garret, *sky parlor, *cock loft, *loft

   L: Room at the top of the house just under the roof.

9. kitchen /describe; winter or summer kitchen/ *porch, *cook house, *cook room, *stove room, *kitchen house

   L: Room that you cook in?

1. pantry *buttery, *kitchen closet, *safe

   L: What do you call the little room off the kitchen where you store canned goods and extra dishes?

2. junk /old, worthless furniture and implements/ *clutch, *rubbish, *trash, *plunder, *trumpery

   L: What do you call a lot of old worthless things that you are about to throw away?

3. junk room *plunder room, *lumber room, *store room

   L: What would you call a room that is used to store odds and ends in?

4. She cleans up (every morning *tidies up, *reds up, *rids up

   L: Speaking of the daily housework, you say a woman does what every morning?
   M: What would you be doing if you were sweeping the floor?

5. The broom is behind (the door *in back of, *tohind, *hindside, *back of

   L: What do you sweep with? If the broom is in the corner and the door is open, you say the broom is where, compared to the door?

6. washing and ironing *laundry

   P: Years ago, on Monday women usually did their ___? On Tuesday? What might you call both washing and ironing together? The place in town where a bachelor might have his shirts done?

7. stairway *stairsteps, *stairs, *staircase /indoors and out/

   L: How do you get from the first floor up to the second floor in a two-story house? Would you use a different term for those inside of the house and for those outside?

8. porch /at front door; at back door; describe construction/ *gallery, *veranda, *piazza, *dog trot, *dog run, *breezeway, *balcony, *stoop

   L: What is built outside the door to walk on and put chairs on? What do you call a little one just over the door?
   M: What would you call one that was big and had columns on it? What would you call one that ran around the front and side of the house?

Can you have a porch on more than one floor? What do you call the one upstairs? What do you call the one at the back of the house? Does it make any difference if it has a roof?

1. Shut (the door *close

   M: If the door is open and you don't want it that way, you would tell someone to ___ the door.

2. weatherboards *clapboards, *siding, *weatherboarding

   M: What would you call the boards on the outside of the house that lap over each other?

3. principal parts of drive

   B: If you were doing some carpentry, nailing in a board somewhere, you'd say, "I took the hammer and I ___."
   H: If a nail ripped your stocking, you took a hammer and did what to the nail?
   M: I want to hang something out in the barn, so I just took a nail and ___. The nail didn't get in far enough; you'd say, "It's got to be ___ further."
   P: Every day I take my car and) drive (into town.

4. roof

   H: What do you call the part that covers the top of the house?

5. eaves troughs /built in or suspended?/ *gutters, *spouting, *canals, *canales

   M: What do you call the little things along the edge of the roof that carry water off?

6. valley /of joining roofs/ *gutter, *alley

   M: Point up to the roof and say, "You have a house and an ell. What do you call the place where the two come together?"

7. shed /for wood, tools, etc./ *ell, *hill house, *lean-to, *woodhouse, *woodshed, *cobhouse, *toolhouse, *toolshed

   B: What would you call a little building that is used for storing wood? Tools?
   H: What do you call a place in which you store your tools?
   M: Do you have a place outside for keeping your stove wood?

1. out-house /separate structure; usual words; jocular words/ *back-house, *toilet, *privvy, *necessary, *outdoors, *garden house, *biffy

   H: What do you call outdoor toilets? Joking words?

(2.) I have (my troubles *I've got

   H: If you had troubles and were telling me about them, you might say, "Well, _____ troubles too."

3. principal parts of hear

   P: Did you) hear (that noise? Yes, I) heard (it. I'm not afraid though because I) have heard it (many times before.

4. I've heard (of him *heered tell

   P: If I ask you if you know a person, you might say, "No, but I _____ of him."

5. I haven't (seen him /unstressed/ *ain't. He hasn't (seen him.

   H: If a friend came back to town and another friend had been visiting with him, you might be asked, "Haven't you seen him yet?" And you might say, "No, I ___." Then you might be asked, "Has your brother seen him yet?" And again you answer, "No, ___."

(6.) You are going) enty? /is enty used for all persons, singular and plural? is it used with essentially the same significance as ain't it, right, aren't you?/

(7.) I do (it all the time. He does (it too. Does he do (that sort of thing? *do he do

   H: Of something you do every day, do you do it frequently? "Yes, I ___."
   P: Does he? etc.

8. He does /stressed/ *do, dooz

   H: Does your brother like ice cream? Yes, he ___.
   P: You don't smoke cigars, but he ___.

13

1. He doesn't care *don't

   B: If a man lets his farm get all run-down and doesn't seem to care, you might say to someone who asks, "I really don't know, but he just _____ to care."
   H: If your son is in school but pays no attention to the teacher, you might think he just ____ to care.
   P: You can give him his choice, but he will tell you he ____ which one you give him.

(2.) You don't think so) do you? *enty

(3.) Don't I know it? *ain't I knows it?

4. I'm not sure *for sure

(5.) I was talking (to him. You) were talking (to him. I have been thinking (about it.

   B: If you have been trying to make up your mind about something, would you say, "I have been thinking about it," or "I have been thinking around it."
   H: If you had been discussing something with a friend of yours, what would you do with him? I ____. I ___, etc.

(6.) What) makes (him do it? /enter other instances of uninflected 3rd person singular, as in what make him do it?/

7. People think (he did it. They say (he did it.

14

1. house; houses

   M: You might say you live in a frame ___. Are there other kinds around here?

2. barn /what is it used for? record all compounds/

   L: The big building behind the house where hay is stored and cattle are housed is called ___.
   M: What sort of buildings would you have on a farm?

3. corn crib /building for storing corn/ *corn barn, *corn house, *crib

   L: The building you store corn in is a ___.

4. granary /building or part of building for storing grain/

   L: What do you call a building or part of a building where you store grain? Describe it.

5. loft /upper part of the barn; describe or make sketch/ *barn chamber *mow, *scaffold, *overhead, *great-beams

   L: The upper part of the barn is called ___. Are there other places where you might store hay in the barn?

6. hay stack /observe shape and size; outdoors or in barn?/ *rick, *mow

   H: If too much hay is gathered to get in the barn, how is it kept outside? What is the shape of the pile? What is the cart used to bring in the hay called?
   L: Hay piled up outside the barn is called a ___.

7. hay barrack /four poles and a sliding roof/ *rick, *dutch cap, *hay cap

8. cock /infield at haying time/ *tumble, *haycock, *doodle, *shock, *heap, *coil, *rick, *mow

   M: When you first cut the hay, what do you do with it? Do you know any names for small piles of hay raked up in the field?

15

1. cow barn /shelter for cows; describe/ *barn, *stable, *cow shed, *lean-to

   M: Where do you keep your cows? Do you have a special shelter for them to get in under when it's raining? What do you call that?

(2.) stable /shelter for horses; describe/ *barn

   H: What do you call the place where you keep your horses?

3. milk gap /place where cows are staked or penned for milking; describe/ *cow pen, *cuppin

   M: Besides the barn, did you ever have a special place where you would milk the cows outside? What did you call that place?

4. hog pen /shelter and enclosure for hogs and pigs; describe/ *hog run, *hog crawl, *sty, *hog boist, *hog house, *pig pen

   M: Where do you keep your hogs and pigs? Did this have shelter or was it open?

5. dairy /place for milk and butter? type of farm? processing and distributing plant? a place for storing produce in the winter?/

   M: Where did people used to keep their milk and butter before the days of refrigeration? Do you remember a trough near a stream where the spring rose and the water would run through the trough where you set jugs and crocks of milk and butter to keep them cool? What did you call that?
   P: What other meanings does the word dairy have? Where did you store your potatoes and turnips in the winter?

6. barnyard /where stock is kept or fed/ *stable lot, *cow lot, *sheep lot, *horse lot

   M: What do you call that place around the barn where you might let the cows, mules, and other animals walk around?

7. pasture /where cows, sheep, and other animals graze/ *lot, *range

   M: What would you call the place where you let them go out to graze? Was this fenced or not?

8. to chop cotton /to weed cotton with a hoe/

   P: Did you ever raise cotton? Tell me about the work you did.

9. undesirable grass in a cotton field

   M: What do you call grass that grows up in a cotton field where you don't want it.

16

1. field /size and uses; does term vary according to crop?/ *patch, *lot, *piece of (tobacco, etc.

   M: Cotton and corn grow in a ___. Tobacco is grown in a ___. What things would you say were grown in a patch? In a field?

2. picket fence /woven or nailed?/ *paling fence, *pale fence, *slat fence, *garden fence, *garden shingle

   M: What kinds of fences do you have around the yards and garden?
   P: Do you have different names for different kinds of little wooden fences.

3. barb(ed) wire fence /other kinds of wire fences?/

   H: What do you call the kind of fence that can injure cattle?
   L: The fence made of twisted wire with sharp points on it is called____.

M: What would you call the kind of wire fence that you might catch your pants on when you tried to climb over?

4. rail fence /describe construction; is there more than one type?/ *worm fence, *herring bone fence, *Virginia fence, *chain fence, *snake fence, *stake and rider fence, *shad fence, *galloping fence, *rip-gut fence

H: Can you name any other fences made of wood?
L: What would you call the kind of fence made of split rails laid in a zig-zag fashion?
M: What kind of fence did you have around your field?
P: And then what did you call that extension you might build above the top rail to save lumber while keeping the fence high enough to hold in the big animals?

5. post; posts

P: When you set up a barbed wire fence, you must dig holes for the ___. What would you call just one of them?

6. stone wall /of loose stone or rock/ *stone fence, *rock fence, *rock wall

P: What would you call a fence or wall made of loose stone or rock you might remove from a field?

17

1. china /record china egg/ *delft(ware)

B: If you want to make a hen start laying, what do you put in her nest to fool her?
H: If you have a nice tea set, you say it is made out of ___.
M: What term would you use in describing your best dishes? Did you ever see an egg made out of this? What would you call this egg?

2. bucket /wooden vessel; shape and uses; record compounds/ *pail, *piggin

M: What would you use to carry water in? Would it be made out of wood or metal?

3. pail /large, open tin vessel for water or milk; different from a bucket?/

M: What do you carry milk in?
P: Would you call it something else if that bucket-type container is made of tin, galvanized metal, or plastic?

4. slop bucket /describe/ *slop pail, *swill bucket, *garbage can, *slop pail

   B: What sort of container do you use to carry food to the pigs?
   L: What do you use to throw the waste food from the kitchen into?
   M: What kind of bucket might you keep in your kitchen to throw scraps for the pigs?

5. fry(ing) pan /flat or round bottom? iron or sheet metal? with or without legs?/ *skillet, *spider, *creeper

   B: What do you fry eggs in? What is it made of?
   P: Did you have one with legs in the old fireplace?

6. kettle /heavy iron vessel with large opening; different shapes?/ *pot, *caldron, *wash boiler

   M: What about something big and black that you had out in the back yard that you might use for heating up the water to boil your clothes? Would you use this for anything else, like boiling potatoes?

7. vase *flower(s) pot

   M: What would you call the container that you plant some sort of flower in and keep in the house? What would you call the containers in which you put your cut flowers?

8. spoon; knife; knives; fork

   M: What are the eating utensils that you set at each plate when you're setting the table for supper? If you had served steak and it wasn't very tender, you might have to put steak ___ by the plates.

18

1. I must) wash (the dishes

   L: If the dishes are all dirty, you say, "It's almost suppertime and before we can have supper, we have to have some clean dishes. I must ___ the dishes!"

2. She) rinses (the dishes

   M: After she washes the dishes, then she ___ them in clear water.

(3.) dish cloth /for removing food that sticks to the plates/ *dish rag

   P: What do you call that cloth or rag you use in washing dishes?

4. dish towel /for drying dishes/ *dish wiper, *dry-rag, *cup towel, *tea towel

P: What do you call that cloth or rag you use in drying dishes?

5. wash cloth /for face/ *wash rag, *face cloth

L: What do you call the small square of terry cloth that you use to bathe your face?

6. bath <u>towel</u>

L: After bathing, what do you use to dry yourself off with?

7. faucet /on water pipe at kitchen sink; in yard ; on a portable water container/

L: What do you turn on at the water pipe of the kitchen sink?
M: What terms would you use for other things like that out in the yard where you attach the garden hose or where the firemen could hitch a fire hose?
P: When you worked in the field and they brought water out in a cart or wagon, what was that container called? Did it have something you could turn to get the water to run into your dipper or cup?

(8.) the pipe) burst (last night

M: It was so cold last night that our water pipes ___. If you stuck a pin in a balloon it would ___.

19

1. <u>barrel</u> /for meal, flour/ *gum

L: People used to buy flour in a ___.
P: [See 18.7] Something you might have to roll off a wagon on a couple of logs or boards.

(2.) stand /for molasses, lard, <u>etc.</u>/

M: What did molasses come in when you used to buy it in fairly large quantities? What about lard?

3. funnel *tunnel

L: What do you use to enable you to pour water into a narrow-mouthed bottle?
P: If your salt box had no spout, you might make something like this [making a cone with a sheet of paper] to pour the salt into a small shaker.

4. whip /for driving horses/

   L: What do you use to urge your horses to go faster when you are riding in a buggy?

5. paper bag /made of paper; different sizes?/ *sack, *poke /are these terms used as units of measure?/

   P: If you bought fruit at the store, the grocer might put them in a ___.

6. sack /made of cloth; different sizes?/ *bag, *poke, *meal sack

   M: How was a fairly large quantity of sugar packaged? What about 50 pounds of flour?

7. tow sack /made of rough cloth; different sizes?/ *crocus sack, *burlap sack, *coffee sack, *guano sack

   P: What do you call that bag or sack potatoes are shipped in? What about feed, seed, and manure?

8. a turn (of corn, meal, wood, etc. /the quantity of corn taken to the mill at one time; the amount of wood you can carry in your arms; is term ever used for anything besides corn?/ *grist(e), *chance, *jag, *load, *armful, *armload

   M: What would you call the amount of corn you might take to the mill at one time to be ground? What about the amount of wood you can carry?

9. light bulb

   M: When the light burns out in an electric lamp, you have to put in a new ___ ___.

20

1. clothes basket

   L: When you carry the washing out to hang it up on the line, you carry it out in a ___.

2. keg *kag

   L: What do nails come in? Like a barrel, but smaller.

3. hoops

   L: What runs around the barrel to hold the wood [or staves] in place?

4. cork /for bottle; material?/ *cork stopple, *stopple, *stopper

   L: What do you put in the top of a bottle?
   M: Now if you fill up a bottle, what would you put in it so the liquid wouldn't spill out? What would it be made from?

5. harmonica /with reeds which are blown on/ *French harp, *mouth harp, *mouth organ

   B: Musical instrument children play, held like this.
   L: What is a little musical something you play at your mouth?
   M: The thing you put in your mouth and work back and forth and blow on it. Do you remember any other names for it?

6. Jew's harp /held between the teeth and plucked/

   M: What about something that you would hold between your teeth and pick with your fingers and it would twang.

7. hammer

   L: What do you pound nails with?
   M: What would be some of the usual tools you might have around the hous house?

8. tongue /of a wagon/ *neap, *pole, *spear

   L: If you have a wagon and two horses, what is the long wooden piece between the horses?

9. shafts /of a buggy/ *shavs, *thills, *fills, *drafts

   M: You have a horse pulling a buggy. Before you hitch him up, you have to back him in between the ___.

21

(1.) steel) rim /of a wagon wheel/ *tire; felly /of wood on which tire is fixed/

   L: The steel outside of a wagon wheel.
   M: For the parts of a wheel, you start with the inside. That is the hub, and then there are the spokes that come out and fit into the ___. What is the metal thing around the outside?
   P: When you speak of the felly, do you mean just the individual piece with two spoke holes or all of those pieces combined?

2. singletree *swingletree, *whippletree, *whiffletree

B: When a horse is hitched to a wagon, what do you call the bar of wood the traces are fastened to?
M: Now on a buggy, the thing the traces come back to in order to hook on is called the ___.

3. doubletree *evener, *spreader, *double singletree

M: Now on the wagon, you would have two horses and each one has a single-tree. What do you call the thing that both of these are hitched to in order to keep the horses together?

4. He was) hauling (wood in his wagon *drawing, *carting

L: If a man had a load of wood in his wagon and he was driving along, you say he was doing what?
M: What would you say somebody is doing when he is filling up his wagon at the wood lot and taking it to the house, unloading it, and filling it up again?

5. principal parts of drag

M: Suppose there was a log across the road. You'd say, "I tied a rope to it and ___ it out of the way."
P: We have ___ quite a few stumps out of there with mules and chains.

6. plow / record different kinds with descriptions/

L: What do you break the ground with in the spring?
P: What is the first thing you use in the field when you are getting ready to plant? Are there any other kinds you use later? What about the kind you use on a hill?

7. harrow /record different kinds with descriptions/ *springtooth harrow, *gee-whiz

M: After you have ploughed, what do you use to break the ground up even finer? What different kinds of harrows do you have?

(8.) axle *ex

M: What is it that the wheels of a wagon fit onto?

1. saw-buck /for sawing logs? firewood? planks? distinguish A frame from X frame/

   M: What do you call the X-shaped frame you lay a log across to chop it into stove lengths? What do you call the A-shaped frames you use to lay the boards across to make a table for a church supper?

2. brush /record noun and verb/

   L: You straighten your hair with a comb and a ___.
   P: When you use one of those, you say that you are going to ___ your hair.

3. strop /for sharpening a razor; made of leather/

   L: You sharpen a straight razor on a leather ___.

4. cartridge

   L: What do you put in a revolver?
   P: They weren't using live ammunition; they were just firing blank ___.

5. seesaw *teetering board, *teeter-totter, *dandle, *tilts, *ridy-horse, *hickey-horse, *cock-horse, *teeter-horse, *see-horse, *tiltamo /record distinctions/

   B: A plank laid over a trestle for children to play on.
   L: What do children have in a park or a school yard where one sits on each end of a board and they go up and down?
   M: What do you call the playground equipment that children play on--one child balancing the other, going up and down? What would you say they are doing?

(6.) joggling board /limber plank suspended at both ends/

   M: What do you call a limber plank fixed at both ends that children use to jump up and down on?

7. flying jenny /homemade merry-go-round/ *flying Dutchman, *whirligig, *ridy horse

   M: There might be a plank that is anchored in the middle to a post or stump. Children get on each end and spin around on it. What do you call that?

8. They are) seesawing *teetering, *tilting

   M: [See 22.5]

9. swing /suspended from a limb or bar/ *swing-swang

M: When you tie a long rope to a tree limb and put a seat on it so that children can go back and forth, you're making a ___.

23

1. coal scuttle *coal hod, *coal bucket

L: What do you carry coal in?
M: What would you call a container for coal that you keep near the stove or fireplace? Do you have a different name for the container that you use to bring in coal from the coal pile?

(2.) stovepipe *funnel /distinguish flue and stovepipe/

L: What runs from the stove to the chimney?

3. wheelbarrow *trucks, *Georgia buggy

B: A small vehicle to carry bricks or other heavy things with a little wheel in front and two handles to push it by.
L: What do you wheel things around in?

4. whetstone /for sharpening a scythe, i.e., a portable sharpening stone/ *whetrock, *rifle, *rubstone

L: What do you sharpen a scythe on? Wood or stone?

5. grindstone /sharpening stone fixed on a stand with treadle or handle/ *grinstone

L: The kind that turns around.

(6.) Can you drive a) car? *automobile, *motorcar

H: What is the thing I drive?
L: What are these things that drive along the roads? You say, "Can you drive a ___?"
M: What do we use for transportation this day and time?

7. grease (the car; yesterday, he) greased (the car

L: If something is squeaking, to lubricate it you have to do what to it? Not oil, but the hard, solid kind?

8. greasy

L: If grease got all over your hands, they are all ___.

1. oil

   M: If you have a door hinge that is squeaking, what would you say you ought to do to it?
   P: You might take your car into a gas station and ask them to check the water and ___.

2. kerosene *coal oil, *lamp oil, *carbon oil

   L: What is it that you used to burn in lamps? Is there another name you might call it?

3. a makeshift lamp /made with a rag, bottle (or can), and kerosene/ *torch, *flambeau

   P: What might you call a makeshift lamp made with a rag, bottle, and kerosene?

4. inner) tube

   L: Inside the tire of the car is the inner ___.
   M: Toothpaste comes in a ___.

5. They are going to) launch (the boat

   L: If they have just built a boat and are going to put it in the water, you say they are going to ___.

6. rowboat /round or flat bottom? squared or pointed bow?/ *bateau, *john boat, *pirogue

   M: What kind of boat would you go fishing in on a small lake? What would you call one with a flat bottom?

(7.) I am going (today /is auxiliary verb omitted?/ We ...; they ....

   H: If you were going to the next village, and I said, "Will you be home today?" You might say, "No, I ___."
   P: If asked when you were going, you might say, "I ___ today." Or, if I went with you? If they went and we stayed here?

8. Am I going (to get some? Are they going (to get some?

   P: He said he was going to get some (cake or whatever); now [gesturing to oneself]--to get some of that.

1. Here are (your clothes! /mother to child/ *here's

   L: If a child is just learning to dress himself, the mother brings in the clothes and says ___.

(2.) There are (many people who think so *there's

   H: If I ask you if you think ___ [using the name of any candidate] is going to be elected, you might say, "No, but ____."

3. I am not (going to hurt him *ain't

   B: If you meet a little boy on the street and he is afraid of you, you might tell him you were not going to hurt him by saying, "Don't cry I ____."
   H: If you are taking a child to the dentist and he is afraid, the dentist might say, "Don't be afraid, I ____."
   P: You might tell a boy, "Send your dog over here; I ____; I just want to pet him."

(4.) I'm right) am I not *ain't I, *aren't I /when seeking confirmation/

   B: If you have having an argument with somebody and you wanted to ask him if he didn't think you were right about this, you would say, "Well, I'm right ___?"

5. We were (going to do it anyway *was

   P: If someone thanked you for a ride into town, you might say, "Don't mention it; we ___ going in anyway."

(6.) Those were (the good old days *them was /record other subject-verb agreement variants/

   B: If you were talking about the old days when everything was better than it is now, you might lean back and say, "____ the good old days."

(7.) No, it wasn't me *wan't me, *wasn't I

   B: If somebody asked, "Was that you I saw in town yesterday?" You might say, "No, it ___."
   H: Did you just slam that door? No, it ___.

8. /record other instances of deleted copula, preposition, article, and conjunction/

(1.) be as a finite verb /record instances, e.g., how be you? he's busier than I be; be you going?/

(2.) sample /of cloth/

L: If a woman wants to buy a dress of a certain color, she takes along a little square of cloth to use as a ___.

3. That's a) pretty (dress, and that other dress is even) prettier *more pretty

L: If she sees a dress that she likes very much and is very becoming, she says, "That's a very ___ dress."
M: A little girl has on a very becoming dress and you might say, "My, what a ___ dress? Suppose you remark to your mother, "Susy's dress was pretty, but mine is ___ than hers."

4. apron

M: What might you wear over your dress in the kitchen?

5. writing pen; safety pin

M: To sign your name in ink, you use a ___. To hold a baby's diaper in place, you use a ___.

(6.) tin cup (or can); ten cents

M: Soup you buy usually comes in a ___. A dime is worth ___.
P: What did you drink from at the pump or well? [If gourd], anything else?

1. coat

L: What do you put on when you go out in the winter time?

(2.) The coat has buttons) on (it *onto

M: That jacket has fancy buttons ___.

3. vest *jacket, *weskit /especially of same material as coat and pants of a suit/

M: Sometimes between your coat and shirt, you wear a ___.

4. trousers *pants, *breeches, *jeans /record differences and investigate overalls/

M: A suit consists of a coat, vest, and ___. Any other names? What do you wear when you are working around the barn or shop?

5. principal parts of bring

B: If you go outdoors in the winter without your coat, somebody runs after you and brings it to you, he would say, "Here, I've ___."
M: Suppose you had come from work and your wife said about a package lying there, "The delivery boy from Jones's store ___ it here."
P: If it was the wrong package, Jones might call and say, "Please ___ it back."

6. His coat) fitted (me *fit

L: That coat won't fit this year, but last year it ___ perfectly.

7. new suit

L: If your old clothes wore out, you would have to buy a ___.
P: Matching coat and pants are a ___. You just bought it; not an old one, but a ___.

8. The pockets) bulge

L: If you stuff a lot of things in the pockets, it makes them ___.

9. principal parts of shrink /investigate synonyms/ *draw up

L: The collar did what in the hot water?
P: This shirt isn't Sanforized, I hope it won't ___. The one I washed yesterday ___. Lately, it seems that every one I have washed has ___.

28

(1.) She likes to) dress up *dike up, *rig up, *slick up, *prink up, *primp up, *doll up, *dike out /different terms for men? different terms for women putting on make up?/

B: When a girl goes out to a party, in getting ready, you say she likes to ___.
H: If a girl likes to put on her mother's clothes, she likes to ___.
L: If a girl spends all her time in front of the mirror making herself look pretty, you say she likes to ___.
M: If a woman likes to put on good clothes, you would say she likes to ___.

2. purse /for coins/ *pocketbook

B: What do you call the small leather container with a clasp on it that women carry money in?
H: Small thing you take to church to carry coins?
L: What do you put your money into in your pocket?
M: Something you would carry your money in is a ___. If it was small and had a clasp on it for carrying coins, you would call it a ___.

3. bracelet

L: What does a woman wear around her wrist?

(4.) string of beads *pair of beads

M: Suppose there are a lot of little things strung up together and used to go around your neck as an ornament, what would you call these?

5. suspenders *galluses, *braces

L: What do men wear to hold up their trousers?

6. an old) umbrella

L: What do you hold over you when it rains?

7. bedspread *coverlet, *coverlid, *counterpane

L: What is the last thing you put on a bed? The fancy top cover.

8. pillow *piller, *pillow slip, *pillowcase, *pillow bier

M: At the head of the bed you put your head on a ___.

(9.) bolster /a large pillow/; it goes) clear (across the bed *clean, *plum, *slam, *jam

M: Do you remember using anything at the head of the bed that was about twice as long as a pillow?
P: That bolster didn't go part way across the bed; it went ___.

1. quilt /washable, tied/ *comforter, *comfort, *comfortable, *puff, *soogan

   B: What do you put on a bed for warmth? A cover that has some kind of batting in it?
   H: Things made out of patchwork? Lined? If quite heavy?
   M: What would you call a bed-cover that is old-fashioned and hand-pieced out of scraps of old leftover clothes?

2. pallet /bed on floor/ *shakedown, *lodge

   M: What would you call a makeshift sleeping place down on the floor that children would especially like to sleep on?

(3.) fertile

   P: We expect a big yield from that field because the soil is very ___.

4. bottom land /flat low-lying land along a stream; flooded in spring, plowed later/ *low-land, *intervals, *flat(s), *bottom(s), *batture

   L: The flat low-land along the stream; overflowed in spring and plowed later?

5. meadow /low-lying grass land/ *swale, *bayou (land), *marsh land, *prairie, *dago

   L: Low-lying grass land? A low piece running through it?
   P: A field that might be good for nothing other than raising grass, clover, and alfalfa for hay.

6. swamp /inland; open or overgrown; may it have trees?/ *slough, *marsh, *bog, *gall, *cienega, *sinigie, *mud flats, *mish, *mash

   M: Suppose this was some land that had water standing in it for a good part of the time. What would you call that? Would it be big or small?

7. marshes /along the sea/ *salt marshes

   L: The place where salt hay grows, along the sea.

8. loam /poor soil; sandy/ *loom, *buckshot (land); muck /rich soil; black/ *loom, *loam, *gumbo

   M: What different kinds of soil do you have in the field? Suppose it was part sand and part clay, would you have a name for that?

(1.) They are) draining (the marshes *dreening

L: If they are getting water off the marshes, you say they are ___.
M: Now suppose you had land, a bit swampy, and you wanted to put it to cultivation. What would you do to the land to get the water off?

2. drainage) canal /sizes/ *drain, *cunnel, *ditch, *trenance

M: What would you call the thing that you dug? Are there other names for that?

(3.) creek /shallow arm of the sea/; tidal stream /natural or man-made?/ *bayou, *slue, *bay, *cove, *inlet, *swash

L: Shallow arm of the sea, a tidal stream. Narrow bit of water that flows in and out with the tide.

4. ravine /deep, narrow valley of a small stream/ *draw, *gulch, *gully, *hollow, *wash

B: Deep narrow valley cut by a stream of water in the woods or in a field about ten feet deep and ten feet across.

5. gully /channel cut by erosion in road or field/

B: If there has been a heavy rainfall and the rain has cut out a channel across a road or field, you call that place a ___.

6. creek /small, fresh-water stream; arrange by size/ *stream, *brook, *run, *branch, *fork, *prong, *gulf, *binnekill, *binacle, *rivulet, *gutter, *kill, *bayou, *coulee, *burn, *river

B: What do you call a small stream of water? Is there anything smaller than that? Anything between that and a river?
H: Small fresh water stream? When larger? Real large? If two run together and make a third, what are the two called?
L: Small bit of fresh water flowing along?

7. /names of streams in the neighborhood/

8. hill /small elevation; arrange by size; elicit knob/ *knob, *knoll, *butte, *taunch, *nap, *hummick

B: What do you call a very small rise in land? Is there anything smaller? What do you call it if it is a little larger?
P: [If knob has not been elicited], what do you call that thing you turn to open a door? Is there any kind of land so-called?

1. mountain

   L: What do you call it if it is very large, much higher than a hill?

2. cliff; cliffs *clift, *rock-cliff

   M: The rocky side of a mountain that drops off sharp?

(3.) notch /between mountains/ *gap, *clove, *pass

   M: Up in the mountains where the road goes across in a low place, you would call a ___.

4. wharf /where boats stop and upon which freight is unloaded/ *dock, *landing, *pier

(5.) waterfall *pourover, *a falls

   M: What would you call a place where a large amount of water falls a long distance?

6. cement road *concrete road, *hard road, *pave, *pavement /investigate other designations of roads by size and material used in composition; elicit tar, dirt, and gravel/

   L: A kind of white, hard paved road like city sidewalks.
   M: What do you call most of the important roads around here? What are they made out of?

7. byway /outside of town/ *neighborhood road, *back-road, *gravel road, *parish road, *country road, *dirt road, *lane, *by-path

   L: A little road that goes off the main road?

8. lane /from public road to house; from barn to pasture; across public road/ *driveway, *gap, *avenue, *cow pass

   M: Suppose you came to a man's farm down the public road and came to the turn-off going down to the man's house. What do you call that? What about the track you drive your cattle down when you carry them to pasture? Or if it was a big plantation with a long tree-lined pathway leading up to the entrance, what do you call that road?

9. sidewalk *pavement, *banquette /investigate designations for the strip of grass between the sidewalk and the street in town/ *grass strip, *berm, *parkway, *tree lawn, *parking strip, *tree belt, *tree row, *terrace, *tree bank

   M: Something along the side of the street for people to walk on.

1. He) threw a stone (at the dog *checked, *chunked, *flung, *pitched, *rock, *dornick, *hoonie, *doney

   B: If you are walking along the road, and a dog jumps out at you and scares you, what would you pick up and throw? What would you say you did with it?
   L: What might a bad boy throw at a dog? You say he ____ a stone at the dog.
   M: Two boys are walking across a field and one of them saw a crow in the the field eating the farmer's corn. He reached down and picked up a ___ to chase the crow off. When he got to the farm, he said to the farmer, "I picked up a ___ and ___ it at the crow."

2. He isn't) at home *home, *to home; she's) in (the house *at, *to; she's) in (the kitchen *at, *to

   L: If you go to somebody's house and he is not there, they say, "No, he is not ___."
   P: If someone came to visit your wife and you met the person in the yard, you might say, "She's ___ the house; she's ___ the kitchen baking some cookies."

3. <u>without</u> (milk /investigate designations for <u>black coffee</u> *straight, *barefooted/

   P: Talking about putting milk in coffee, "Some people like it ___ milk and others like it ___ milk. Do you have any other names for coffee without milk and sugar?

4. <u>with</u> (milk /<u>with</u> followed by a voiced sound/

   M: If you like milk in your tea, you say you drink your tea how? If you don't have milk in your tea, you say you drink your tea ___ milk.

5. He was coming) <u>toward(s)</u> (me

   L: If someone is not going away from you, you say he is coming straight ___ you.

6. I ran) across (him /met him/ *into, *on(to), *a foul of

   H: If you saw someone you have not seen for quite a while, you might say, "This morning I ___."
   L: If you met someone in town, instead of saying "I met him," you might say, "I ran ___."
   M: Later on you were telling another friend about the incident: "I wasn't looking for him; I just sort of ran ___."

7. We named the child) for (her *at, *after, *from

   L: If a child is given the same name that her mother has, you say that they named the child ___ her mother.

1. dog

   L: The kind of animal that barks.
   M: If you are going hunting, you had better take along a good hunting ___.

2. call to a dog to attack another dog

   M: If you wanted your dog to attack another dog or a person, what would you say?

3. mongrel *cur, *curl dog, *fiste, *scrub, *hound dog, *pot licker, *mutt /investigate distinctions among dogs of mixed breeds, worthless dogs, and small, noisy, yapping dogs/

   L: If he is a mixed breed you call him a ___.
   P: Worthless? Small and noisy?

4. /principal parts of bite; investigate also participial dog-bit/

   L: If the dog liked to bite, you say the boy was ___ by the dog.
   M: If someone insisted on going inside the fence where a watchdog was kept, you might say, "You better watch out, or you'll get ___."
   P: That dog will ___ anyone; yesterday he ___ the mailman. The mailman had to go to the doctor after he got ___.

5. bull *animal, *beast, *male, *top-cow, *cow brute, *cow critter, *toro, *tuppin' ox, *seed ox, *stock cow /special words used by farmers? by women? in presence of women?/

   B: In a herd of cattle what do you call the male? What do you call him when there are women around? What do women call him?
   H: Animal that is cross and goes for you if you wear red? Other terms?
   L: The male of a herd of cattle. Polite names used by women.

6. cow

   L: The kind you keep for milk?

(7.) pair of mules *team, *span /investigate in terms of oxen also/

   L: The ones you drive carts with. If you had four of them you would say you were driving two ___ of oxen.
   M: In our grandfather's time what kinds of animals were used to pull heavy loads besides horses? Some work animals resembled bulls and they were called ___. Some resembled horses and they were called ___. Two hitched together would be a ___; four harnessed together would be called two ___.

(8.) calf

L: A little one when it's first born. Female is called a ___. Male one is called a ___.

9. Daisy is going to) calve *find a calf, *drop a calf, *come in, *freshen, *come fresh, *spring

L: If you had a cow by the name of Daisy expecting a calf, you say, "Daisy is going to ___."

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(1.) stallion *stud, *stable horse, *top-horse, *seed horse, *service horse, *stock horse /special words used by farmers? by women? in presence of women?/

L: What do you call the male horse?
P: Years ago did women use that word? Would men say that in the presence of women? [If not], what did they say?

2. horse; horses; mare

P: Riding animals are called ___. A female is called a ___; but male or female, it's still a ___.

(3.) /principal parts of ride/

L: If you didn't know how to ride, you would say, "I have never ___ a horse."
P: Everyone around here likes to ___ horses; last year, he ___ his every morning.

(4.) He fell) off (the horse *off of, *off'n

L: If you couldn't stay on, you'd say, "I fell ___ the horse."

5. He fell) out of (bed *off of, *outen the

M: Say a little child went to sleep in bed and found himself on the floor in the morning, he'd say, "I must have ___."

6. horseshoes

M: The things that you would put on a horse's feet to protect them from the road, what would you call them?

7. hoof; hoofs

M: The parts of the horse's feet that you put the shoes onto would be called what?

8. quoits *quates, *horseshoes, *kites /investigate similar outdoor games/

   L: The game you play with them [after 34.6] is called ___.

9. ram *buck, *male sheep /special words used by farmers? by women? in presence of women?/

   L: The male sheep is called a ___.

35

1. ewe /other words for sheep?/

   L: Female sheep?

2. wool

   L: What do they have on their backs?
   M: What do you raise sheep for?

3. boar *boar hog, *male hog, *seed hog, *seeding hog, *breeding hog, *stock hog /special words used by farmers? by women? in presence of women?/

   L: Male hog?
   M: The one you breed with a sow, what do you call him?

4. barrow /a castrated male hog/ *barrow hog, *stag, *rig

   M: What would you call a male that's been altered?

5. hogs /male and female? old and young? investigate other designations/

   L: A little one when it is first born is called ___. When it is a little older it is called ___. When they are grown they are called ___.
   M: How big must a pig get to be called a shoat? What is an unbred female called?

6. bristles /stiff hairs on a hog's back/

   L: What do they have on their backs?

7. tusks *tushes

   M: These big teeth a hog has, what do you call them? What about the things an elephant has, would you call them the same thing?

8. trough; troughs

M: Now the thing you put the food in for a hog would be a what? If you had three or four of them, you'd say, "I had three or four ___."

(9.) wild hog *mountain rooter, *pineywoods rooter

M: Do you have any names for a hog that's grown up wild?

36

1. castrate /horses, bull calves, boars, cats/ *alter, *change, *trim, *cut, *mark, *work on

M: Now if you had a pig and you didn't want him to grow up to be a boar, what would you say you are going to do with him? Would you use the same term for a horse, a calf, or a tom cat?

2. bawl /of calf being weaned/ *blare, *cry, *blat, *blate, *bellow

L: Noise made by a calf when it is being weaned. You say the calf began to ___.

3. low /of a cow or calf at feeding time/ *moo

L: Gentle noise made by a cow during feeding time. The cow began to ___.

4. whinny /of horses at feeding time/ *nicker, *whicker, *whinner, *whinker, *laugh

L: Gentle noise that a horse makes. The horse began to ___.

(5.) feed) the cattle *critters, *creeters, *stock

M: You've got some horses, mules, cows, and so forth, now when they are getting hungry you would have to go out and ___.

(6.) feed) the fowls /general term/ *fowl

M: If you are going to feed the hens, turkeys, geese, and so forth, do you have any one name for them all? You are going out to feed ___.

7. a setting hen *hatching hen, *cluck, *brooder, *broody-hen

L: A hen on a nest of eggs is called a ___.

8. chicken coop /describe; for all the chickens? for mother hen and little chicks?/ *chicken house, *hen house, *hennery, *jouguoir

L: The place where they live. If it is just a little rude shelter built out in the open for the little chicks to run under out of the rain?

1. wish bone *lucky bone, *pulley bone, *pull bone /investigate superstitions associated with breaking the bone and names for the longer and shorter pieces: *boy bone, *little boy, *house-and-land/

   L: When you eat one, what is the part that the children like to have so that they can pull it apart to see how it will break?
   P: What do you call that larger piece and what does it mean? The smaller piece?

2. harslet /comprehensive term for edible "insides" of a pig or calf/ *haslet, *chittlins, *pluck, *squin, *liver and lights

   L: What do you call the inside parts of the chicken that you eat--liver, heart, gizzard? Chicken ___. Inside part of the pig or calf that you eat?

3. chitterlings *intestines

   M: The part that you sometimes eat and sometimes stuff sausage in?

4. feeding time *fodder time, *chore time

   L: If it's time to feed the stock and do the chores, you say it is ___.
   M: Now you hear your cow mooing and your horse neighing; you say, "Gee, I didn't realize it was so late; it's right on to ___."

5. calls to cows /mark stress and intonation in all calls; note repetition; encourage a good, strong call/
   (A.) to get them from the pasture *come, boss! *co-(w)ench! *sook(ie)! *soo(k)-cow! *chay! *coo-ee! *co-boss!
   (B.) to make them stand still during milking *so! *sah! *histe! *foot! *saw, boss! *saw (madam)!

   L: How do you call your cows to get them from the pasture? To make them stand still when you milk?

6. calls to calves *sook, calf! *sook, sook! *bossie! *calfie!

   L: What about calling a calf?

7. calls to mules or horses to make them turn left or right in plowing

   L: What do you say to the mules or horses to make them go left and right?

8. calls to horses /when getting them from the pasture/ *ku-jack! *co-jack! *kope! *curp! *curph! *quop! *quopy! *quoby! *quowa! *whistling

1. get up! /to start horses; to urge horses on/ *gee up! *come up! *clucking

   L: What do you say to a horse to urge him on? Is that when he is already moving or when he is standing still and you are just starting? Is there any difference?

2. whoa! /to stop horses; to back them/ *hike up! *back up!

   L: What would you say to stop him? When backing him into a buggy?

3. calls to pigs /when feeding them/ *chook, chook! *poke! *pok! *suey! *suwee! *kong, kong, kong! *poo-wee! *soo-boy! *pi-goo(p)! *pig(gie)!

   L: How do you call hogs to feed them?

4. calls to sheep /when getting them from the pasture/ *coo-sheep! *coo-nan(nie)! *kudack! *coday! *cade!

   L: How do you call your sheep to get them from the pasture?

5. calls to chickens /when feeding them/ *chickie-chickie! *chick-chick! *kip-kip! *koop-koop!

   L: How do you call your chickens when you're feeding them?

6. I want to) harness (the horses /for driving? plowing?/ *tackle up, *rig up, *gear up

   L: If you want to get the horses ready to go somewhere, you say, "I want to ___."

1. lines /for driving; for plowing/ *reins

   B: When you are driving a horse, what do you hold in your hand?
   L: What runs from the bit to the driver's hand?
   M: When you're plowing, what do you call the things that you guide the mules with?

(2.) reins /for riding on horseback/

   M: Suppose you are riding a horse, what do you guide him with?

3. stirrups -

L: What do you put your feet into when you're riding horseback?

4. the lead horse /horse on the left/ *nigh horse, *wheel horse, *saddle horse, *line horse, *haw horse

L: If you have two horses, the horse on the left is called ___.
P: When you plow with two horses, what do you call the one that walks in the furrow?

5. a little way (over *ways, *piece

L: If something is not right near at hand, you say it is just a little ___ over.

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1. a long way (to go *ways, *a fur piece

L: If you have been travelling and have not finished your journey, you might say that you had a ___ before dark.

2. You can find that) anywhere(s) *anyplace

L: If something is very common and you don't have to look for it in a special place, you would say that you can find that just about ___.

(3.) He fell) backward(s)

P: If he slipped on the ice and fell this way [with hand motion], he fell ___.

(4.) He fell) forward(s)

P: If he fell this way?

(5.) ne'er a one /any use of nary?/ *nary a one, *not a one

P: Did you catch any fish? No, ___ a one.

(6.) I ain't done nothing /record other multiple negations/

M: A schoolboy might say of a scolding teacher, "Why is she blaming me, I ___ wrong?"

(7.) I didn't like it) noways *at all, *any

M: Someone apologizes for breaking your rake, and you say, "That's all right. I didn't like it ___."

(8.) He didn't give me) any *none

P: A crying child might say, "He was eating candy and didn't give me ___."

9. /record conversational occurrences of durative of a night for in the night or at nighttime, especially with reference to the past/

41

(1.) He'll have trouble) like as not *apt as not

M: Now that boy's spoiled. When he grows up, you might say, he'll have his trouble ___.

2. furrows /trenches cut by a plow/

3. We raised a big) crop (of wheat

L: If you have a good yield, you say, "We raised a big ___."

4. We) cleared (the land /of shrubs, trees/ *cleared up, *shrubbed, *swamped out

L: If you got rid of all the brush and trees on the land, you say you did what? If you cut them down to make a road through the woods to a logging camp, you say, "We just ___."

5. second cutting /of clover, grass/ *rowen, *aftermath, *lattermath

L: The second cutting of clover or grass. What do you call the old dry dead grass that is left over on the ground in the spring?

6. a sheaf (of wheat *a bind, *bundle

L: The wheat is tied up into a ___.

7. shock (of wheat, corn /how many sheaves?/ *stook

L: The bundles or sheaves are piled up into a ___. How many sheaves are there?

8. forty) bushels (of wheat *bushel

L: We raised forty ___ of wheat to an acre.

1. oats is thrashed *are

   L: What have you got to do with oats to separate the grain from the rest of it?

(2.) You and I('ll have to do it *me and you

   B: If you and another man have got to do a job, when you told him about it, you'd say, "You and ___."
   H: Something we had to do today, just the two of us, we'd say, "We'll have to do it." Or you'd say, "___."

(3.) both of us *all two of us

   B: If you are not speaking to him, just talking about him, you'd say, "The job is for ___."

(4.) He and I (are coming over *him and me

   L: If some friends of yours and you are coming over to see me, you say, "___ and ___ are coming over."

(5.) It's I /observe hit for it/; ... he; ... she; ... they

   L: If you knock at the door and they say, "Who's there?" They know your voice and so you say, "It's ___." If we are sitting here expecting some man who knocks at the door, you say, "Oh, it's only ___." If it is a woman, you say, "___." If it is two people, you say, "It's ___."

(6.) He isn't as tall) as I am *as I be, *as me

   L: Comparing how tall you are, you say, "He is not as tall as ___."

7. /record pronoun peculiarities observed in conversation/

(1.) I'm not as tall) as he is *as he be, *as him

   L: Comparing how tall you are again, you say, "I'm not as ___."

(2.) He can do it better) than I can *than me, *than I

   L: Comparing how well you can do something, you say, "He can do it better than ___."

3. Two miles is) the farthest (he could go *all the farther, *all the further

   L: If a man had been running for two miles and then had to stop, you'd say, "Two miles is ___ he could go."

4. It's yours *yourn; ... ours *ourn; ... theirs *theirn; ... his *hisn; ... hers *hern

   L: If something belongs to me, you say, "It's ___." If it belongs to both of us, you say, "It's ___." To them? To him? To her?

5. When are) you (coming again /pl.; is you-all ever used as sing.?/ *youse, *you'ns, *mongst-you, *you-all

   M: People have been to visit you and they are about to leave, you say to them, "___come back again."

6. you all's /genitive/

   M: Now if somebody's been to a party and started to leave, and you were asking about the wraps, you would say, "Where are ___?"
   P: If their car was out in the road, you might say to them, "Someone's going to run into ___ car."

7. Who-all (was there/ who-all's (children were there?

   M: Asking about people at a party, you'd say, "___ had been there?" A group of children, that obviously belonged to more than one family, you'd ask about them, "___ children are they?"

8. What-all (did he say?

   M: When you're asking about all of a speaker's remarks, everything said, you might say, "___ did he say?"

44

(1.) They've got to look out for) themselves *theirselves, *theyselves

   L: If no one else will look out for them, you say they've got to look out for ___.

(2.) He better do it) himself *hisself

   L: If no one else will do it for him, you say he had better do it ___.

3. wheat bread /in loaves/ *white bread, *light bread, *pan bread, *bread

   L: What is made of flour baked in loaves? When it is made to rise with yeast, you call it ___.

4. other kinds of bread made of flour /preparation, shape/ *rim, *wasp nest bread, *riz bread, *yeast bread, *biscuits, *hot rolls, *bannocks, *poverty cakes, *buns, *potato bread, *limpa, *salt-rising bread

L: What other kinds of bread not in loaves? You bake a pan of ___. Any other kind of bread made of flour?

5. corn bread /in large cakes/ *johnny cake, *corn pone, *pone

L: What is baked in a large cake made of corn meal?

6. other kinds of bread and cakes made of corn meal /what is a corn dodger?/

M: Now you mentioned corn bread. What do you mean by corn bread? Do you have more than one kind? Suppose you have the kind that doesn't have anything in it except corn meal, salt, and water? What do you call that? Do you ever remember any kind of corn bread that people talked about making before the fire on a board or something like that only larger? Are there any kinds that they cook in ashes? What kind is about an inch thick, very large and round, you might cook in a skillet? Then there is the kind that is small, and sort of like a sphere and maybe it has a little bit of onion or green pepper mixed up in it and you cook them in deep fat and eat them with fish or other fried sea food? There is something else that you sometimes have that you boil in cheesecloth with either beans or greens or something with chicken, made out of corn meal. What would you call that? And then there's the kind of corn meal that you cook in a deep pan and it comes out soft and you dish it out like you would dish out mashed potatoes onto your plate beside your meat.

45

1. homemade bread and) bought(en) bread *baker's bread, *town bread

L: There are two kinds of bread, the homemade bread and the kind that you buy at the store, called ___.

2. doughnut /preparation, shape; with baking powder? yeast? hole in the middle?/ *cruller, *fried-cakes, *fat-cakes, *raised doughnuts, *yeast doughnuts, *olicook, *riz doughnuts, *croquignoles

L: What is fried in deep fat with a hole in the center? Any other name for it in any other shape or way of making it? If you take a lump of doughnut dough and dip it with a spoon without making a hole in it, what do you call that? Fried in deep fat with three little strips across it?

3. pancakes /of wheat/ *griddlecakes, *battercakes, *hotcakes, *flannel-cakes, *flapjacks, *slapjacks, *fritters, *flitters

M: Sometimes you make up a batter and fry three or four of these at a time. You eat them with syrup and butter. What would you call these? Would they always be made out of wheat flour?

4. two pounds (of flour *pound

   L: You went to the store to buy two ___ of flour.

5. a cake of) yeast *east, *emptins, *cunnell

   M: What would you use to make the bread that is not baking powder or soda. It comes in a small little packet and is dry and granulated.

6. yolk *yelk, *yellow, *red, *glare

   L: The inside part of the egg?
   M: What are the two parts of the egg? One is the white; the other is ___.

7. The yolk is) yellow /name of the color/

   M: What color would you say the yolk of the egg is?

46

1. boiled eggs

   L: If you cook them in hot water, what do you call them?

2. poached eggs /how prepared?/ *dropped eggs

   L: If you crack them and let them fall out of the shells into hot water, what kind are they?

3. salt pork /investigate bases for distinctions: amount of lean? part of the hog? use in cooking?/ *side meat, *sow belly, *sow bosom, *meat, *salt butts meat, *fatback, *white meat, *white bacon

   L: Fat salt pork is called?
   P: What do you call the salt- or sugar-cured meat you might boil with greens? What if it had no lean to it at all? What if it had a good bit of lean?

4. a side (of bacon

   M: When you cut the side of a hog, what did you call it?

5. smoked meat /smoked salted pork/ *bacon, *smoked meat

   L: The kind of meat that you buy sliced thin to eat with eggs.

6. bacon rind *skin, *meat skin

   L: The outside of the bacon is called?
   P: The edge of the bacon that you cut off before you slice it.

7. bacon *strip meat, *breakfast bacon, *fry, *fry meat

   M: The kind of meat you buy and then slice thin to eat with your eggs?

8. sausage; butcher

   L: The kind of meat that comes in little links on a chain? Who kills and sells the meat?
   M: What would you call the trimmings that you might slice up, grind, and season; then either stuff in a casing or wrap in a loaf to be sold as breakfast food? What would you call the person who sells meat?

9. The meat is) spoiled

   L: If the meat has been kept too long, you say the meat has done what?

47

1. head cheese /are head cheese and souse the same thing?/ *souse, *hog-head cheese, *relish

   P: After you butcher a hog, what do you make with the meat from its head?

2. liver sausage *liver pudding, *liver mush, *liverwurst, *liverel, *white pudding

   M: What do you call the dish prepared by cooking and grinding up hog liver?

3. blood sausage *blood pudding, *black pudding

   M: Did you ever make anything out of hog blood?

4. scrapple /corn meal in juice from head cheese, liver sausage, etc./ *cripple, *ponhoss

   M: Did you ever take the juice of the head cheese or the liver sausage and stir it up with corn meal, maybe some hog meat, and cook it; then later, after it gets cold, slice it and fry it? What would you call that?

5. The butter is) rancid *frowy

   M: Suppose you had kept your butter too long and it didn't taste good. What would you call the taste or how would you describe its condition?

6. curdled milk *bon(n)ey-clabber, *bon(n)ey-clapper, *lobbered milk, *lop-pered milk, *clabber, *thick-milk

   L: Thick sour milk that you keep on hand is called ___ .

1. cottage cheese *pot cheese, *Dutch cheese, *smear cheese, *smear case, *clabber cheese, *sour-milk cheese, *curd, *homemade cheese, *cruds

   L: What do you make from it [i.e., from clabber]?

(2.) You better) strain the milk

   L: What do you do to the milk the first thing after milking?
   P: To get the impurity out you might have to ___ it.

3. apple) cobbler /baked in a deep dish; describe preparation/ *apple dowdy, *pan dowdy, *apple slump, *deep-dish apple pie, *deep apple pie, *pot pie, *bird's nest, *family pie, *apple grunt, *apple Jonathan

   L: What is baked in a deep dish, made of apples with a crust on top?
   P: Something like a fruit pie except it has several layers of fruit and pastry?

(4.) food *vittles

   M: Somebody has a good appetite and you say, "He sure likes to put away his ___."

5. sauce /sweet liquid served with pudding/ *gravy, *dressing, *dip, *dope

   L: What do you call the sweet liquid that you pour over the pudding?
   P: What would you call milk or cream mixed with sugar and nutmeg that you might pour over pie?

6. a bite /food taken between regular meals; small or large quantity?/ *snack, *piece, *bait, *piecing, *baiting

   L: Food taken between regular meals, you call it ___.

7. /principal parts of eat/

   M: I will ___ breakfast at 7 o'clock. Yesterday at that time, I had already ___. Last week I ____ breakfast every day.

8. I'm going to) make some coffee /how is coffee prepared?/ *cook, *boil, *steep, *draw

   L: What do people drink for breakfast? How do you make coffee?

9. a glass of water /shape of glass?/ *tumbler, *goblet; /principal parts of break/

   L: What do you drink when you are thirsty? You drink it out of a what at the table?
   P: The glass fell off the sink and ___. You might say, "I didn't ___ it, but someone has ___ that glass."

1. /principal parts of drink/

   L: If I asked you how much did you drink, you say, "I ___ a lot of it." Then you might ask me, "How much have you ___."
   P: We sure do ____ a lot of water.

2. Sit down! /invitation to sit down at the table; to relatives or intimate friends? to strangers?/ *draw up, *set by

   L: When dinner is on the table and the family is standing around waiting to begin, what do you say to them? If you have company for dinner?

(3.) /principal parts of sit/

   M: Somebody comes into the dining room and you ask him, "Won't you ___?"
   P: So then, he ___ and began to eat. No one else was standing, they had all ___.

4. Help yourself (to potatoes *take out, *take, *take some

   L: If you want someone not to wait until the potatoes are passed, you say ___.

5. /principal parts of help/

   L: So he went ahead and ___ himself.
   P: Since he had already ___ himself, I asked him to pass them over to me.

6. I don't care for any /when declining food; to intimate friends? to host?/ *choose

   L: If you decide not to eat something, you say, "I don't ___."

1. warmed-over /of food cooked and served a second time/ *warmed-up *het-over, *hot

   L: If the food has been cooked and served a second time, you say it has been ___.
   M: Perhaps you had something more than you could eat for Sunday dinner, Monday you'd eat it and you'd say you were having ___.

2. chew *chaw, *champ, *chomp

   L: You put food in your mouth and then you begin to ___.

3. mush /describe preparation/ warmed cornmeal and milk or water? old cornbread with milk or water? other preparations?/ *kush, *kush-kush, *Indian pudding, *turn mush, *turn flour, *suppawn, *spawn, *hasty pudding

   B: A dish made out of boiled Indian meal and some kind of liquid? Do you use milk or water? Salt? How is it served?
   H: Kind of pudding made out of corn meal and water?
   L: What is made of Indian meal and boiled?
   M: Did you ever take corn meal and boil it with salt and water and eat it that way? What did you call that?

4. vegetables /home-grown/ *sass, *garden sass, *garden truck, *garden stuff

   H: What do you call peas, beets, and the like? You grow them in a ___.
   L: What are the home-grown things that grow in a garden?
   M: Things like carrots, peas, beets, and so forth, you'd call ___. Would you have any other name depending on whether you raised them a at home or bought them at the market?

5. vegetable garden *garden, *kitchen garden

   P: A small plot near the house where you might grow vegetables?

6. hominy /coarsely ground corn/ *samp, *grits, *hominy grits; /whole kernels/ *lye hominy

   M: What is the particularly Southern food that is often served with sausage and eggs, made out of ground corn and boiled, served with salt and pepper, and butter, or gravy? What do you call the dish made from the whole grains of corn after leaching the outside cover from the grain?

7. rice

   M: What is the starch made from the inside of a grain raised in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas? It is the staple food of the Chinese and the Japanese.

8. /terms for cheap whisky and for homebrewed beer or whisky/ *white lightning, *pop skull, *bust head, *splo, *homebrew, *moonshine

   M: What are some names for non-tax-paid alcoholic beverages? Suppose it was not of very high quality and made under unsanitary conditions?
   P: Do you know the expression splo?

(1.) Just) smell (that, will you *smell of

M: When something's cooking and it makes a good impression on your nostrils, you say to someone, "Just ___ it."

(2.) The molasses are (thick *is

M: You crush the cane and boil the juice and make ___. What else? Now you have mentioned both syrup and molasses, what's the difference between them? You might say, "Molasses ___ thick."

3. maple syrup *(sugar) tree molasses; long sweetening and short sweetening /are these terms ever used for molasses and syrup, respectively?/

B: What do you call the sweet sticky liquid which you put on flapjacks?
M: Any other names to distinguish syrup and molasses? Kinds of sweetening?

4. genuine (syrup, leather, etc. /give first syllable only as a last resort/

M: This isn't imitation maple syrup, it's ___. What's on a belt to tell you it's cowhide and nothing else? It isn't imitation, it's gen-___.

(5.) Sugar is sold) in bulk *loose

L: Sugar is sold retail already put up in packages, and wholesale it is sold ___.
M: When sugar isn't prepackaged but weighed out of the barrel, you say it's sold ___. What about crackers?

6. jelly

M: What do you call the sweet spread that you make by boiling sugar and the juice of either apples, peaches, or strawberries? You put it up in special glasses and pour melted paraffin over it.

(7.) salt and pepper

L: What do you have on the table to season food with?

8. Give me a(n) apple! /record other instances of a before vowels/

L: If there are some apples and a child wants one, he says __ apple.
M: There's a bowl of fruit, peaches and apples; somebody offers you a peach and you say, "No, give me ___."

1. those boys *them boys, *them there boys

   M: It wasn't these boys; it must've been one of ___. Or, suppose you are identifying a certain group, you say, "It wasn't these boys; it was ___."

2. It's) over there *back there, *over yonder, *back yonder, *yander

   L: If you are pointing to a tree a way off, you might say, "It's ___."
   M: He doesn't live here (as you point across the road), he lives ___. At a greater distance, you say, "He lives ___."

(3.) Do it) this way *this-a-way

   M: Don't do it that way; do it ___.

(4.) What's that? /failing to hear someone's utterance; just ask a question, drop your voice, mumble a little so that you can naturally force the natural response/

   B: When somebody speaks to you and you don't hear what he says, what do you say to make him repeat?

(1.) A man) that's <u>poor</u> (has a hard life *what's poor

   M: If a man has plenty of money, he doesn't have anything to worry about, but life is hard on a man ___.

2. He's the man) who owns the <u>orchard</u> /relative pronoun in nominative case omitted?/

   M: If you have a lot of peach trees, you have ___. You might ask somebody if it's his orchard; he says, "No, I'm just a neighbor." And pointing to someone else, he says, "He's the man ___."

3. He's a boy) whose father is rich *that his father, *his father, *that the father

   M: When I was a boy, my father was poor, but next door was a boy ___.

4. /record syntactic peculiarities observed in conversation/

1. seed /of a cherry/ *pit, *stone

   L: Inside a cherry, the part you don't eat?
   M: When eating a cherry pie, what might one accidently bite down on that might break a tooth?

2. seed /of a peach/ *stone, *kernel, *pit, *curl

   L: Inside of a peach?

3. cling peach *clingstone (peach), *plum peach, *press peach, *stick-stone, *cleave stone, *hard peach

   L: Kind of peach where the flesh is tight against the stone.
   M: The kind of peach you have to cut the seed out of. Other names?

4. freestone peach *clearseed peach, *soft peach, *clearstone, *freeseed, *slipseed

   L: The other kind where it is not [i.e., not tight against the stone]?
   M: The kind of peach you break open and take the seed out of?

5. core /of an apple/ *seed, *chits

   L: What do you call the part of the apple that you throw away?
   M: After you've eaten an apple, the part you have left is the ___.

(6.) snits /dried pieces of apple/

   M: When you cut up apples (or peaches) and dry them, you're making ___. Do you ever call them snits?

7. peanuts /any distinction between those bought shelled and those not? between home-prepared and store-bought?/ *ground peas, *goobers, *grubies, *pinders, *grou(nd) nuts, *ground almonds

   M: The kind of nuts you pull up out of the ground and roast. Other names?

8. walnut shell /hard inner cover/ *hull; the hull (of a walnut /soft outer cover/ *burr, *shuck, *shell

   M: What other kinds of nuts do you have? The hard covering of a walnut? When a walnut falls off the tree, it has a soft covering around it. You can wait until it dries and break it off. It stains your hands and clothes when you handle it. What do you call this covering?

(9.) almonds; pecans

   B: Another kind of nuts that grow down south, long and flat shaped something like your eye with a thin porous shell.

L: The flat oval shaped nuts with perforated shells, that you buy at Christmastime.
M: [See 54.8]
P: The two kinds of nuts usually used in pralines.

55

1. The oranges are all gone *all

B: A kind of fruit about as big as an apple, but with a thick skin like a lemon? If there is a bowl of oranges standing somewhere and one day you go to get one and there aren't any left, you say, "The oranges are ___."
H: Fruit that you eat for breakfast. If you had a bag of these and found there were none left, you might say, "Why, ___."
L: Kind of fruit that grows in Florida. If there are not any more left, you say that the oranges are ___.
M: Which bowl game is played in Miami on New Year's Day?

2. radishes *redishes

H: Little red vegetables that are peppery.
L: What grows in the garden with a little red root used as a relish?
M: The small, red-covered root vegetable you eat raw?

3. tomatoes; cherry tomatoes *tommy-toes, *salad tomatoes

L: The round red things that grow on leafy plants staked up in the garden.
M: The kind of red vegetables that you grow on a bush? You slice them and eat them on lettuce. You make ketchup out of them.
P: And what do you call the small tomatoes that never get any bigger than this? [Making a ring with thumb and forefinger]

(4.) potatoes *Irish potatoes

M: Along with your meat you might have a baked ___. What kinds of potatoes are there? When you use the word potato what do you mean?

(5.) sweet potatoes *potatoes, *yams, *porto ricos, *jerseys

M: The kind of potatoes with yellow meat? Any other names? Any particular kinds? [If yams is not elicited, ask what they are.]

6. onion *ingern

L: Something with a strong odor that makes tears come to your eyes and grows in a garden.

7. spring onions *young onions, *green onions, *shallot, *scallions, *rareripe, *chibbole, *toppy onions, *toppies

L: The little young fresh ones that you eat.

(8.) okra /get in a list of vegetables; also in a list of the ingredients for a good soup/

M: What are some of the vegetables you would use for a good soup? What about a gumbo?

(9.) shrivel

M: If you leave an apple or a plum around it will dry up and ___.
P: The skin of that dried apple was all ___.

55A

(1.) Those cabbage(s) are (big *cabbage are, *cabbages is

B: The kind of vegetable that comes in large leafy heads. If you have some very large ones, you might say, "Those ___ are very big."
M: What are some leafy vegetables that come in heads? I like these ___. And speaking about the size, you'd say, "These ___."

2. to) shell beans *hull

L: When you want to get the beans out of the pods by hand, you say you have to ___.
M: What different kinds of beans do you have? If you don't eat the pods and all, you have to ___.

3. butter beans /large yellowish or green flat seeds, not pods; distinct varieties? are yellow string beans called butter beans?/ *lima beans, *sivvy beans, *sewee beans

L: The large yellowish flat beans, the seeds, not the pods.
M: The kind of large flat beans that you don't eat in the pod. Any other names? Does it make any difference what size or color they are?

4. green beans *string beans, *snap beans, *sallit beans, *beans

M: The kind of beans you eat pod and all.
P: Is that a general term for all such beans? What different kinds do you grow?

5. greens /of turnips, etc./ *sallit

M: You take the tops of turnips and cook them and make a mess of ___.
P: What other greens do you use besides turnip tops. [See M: 55A.6]

(6.) Two) heads of lettuce *head

B: Green stuff that you put in salads? If you had two bunches of lettuce, you say you have got two ___.
H: Vegetable that is the base for all salads? If you want to get two, you ask for ___.
M: What type of greens do you use? How would you ask someone to buy some lettuce? "Please buy me three ___ of lettuce."

(7.) heads (of children /used seriously? only jokingly?/

M: You have two boys and three girls, you have ___. Do you ever speak of them as so many heads? How? I've got five ___.

8. passel /investigate semantic signification; serious usage? mass and count nouns?/

P: If he had seven boys and seven girls, you might say he had a ___ of children. Do you ever use the word passel? What exactly does it mean to you? Give me a few examples of how you might use passel.

56

1. shucks /on ear of corn/ *husks, *caps

L: The outside of an ear of corn?
M: When you pick corn, the green covering you take off the ears in the ___.

2. sweet corn /served on cob/ *roasting-ears, *green-corn, *table corn, *sugar corn, *mutton corn /investigate the terms roasting ears and mutton corn/

L: What is the kind of corn you eat on the cob?
M: The kind of corn that is tender enough to eat off the cob is ___. Any other names? Any names for ordinary corn young and tender enough to eat off the cob?

3. tassel /top of corn stalk/ *tossel, *spindle, *top-gallant

L: What do you call the top of the cornstalk?
M: The thing that grows up at the top of a corn stalk?

4. silk /on the ear/ *tossel, *corn bread, *corn mutton

M: The stringy stuff that comes out the end of the corn shucks and that you have to brush off the ear when you take the shucks off.

(5.) pumpkin

B: Large round fruit that grows on the ground that you make pie out of at Thanksgiving.
L: What do you make a jack-o-lantern out of?

6. squash *simlin

M: The kind of small yellow crooked-necked vegetable? Any name for it when you let it dry?

7. muskmelon *mushmelon, *cantaloupe /investigate distinctions among these melons/

M: What kinds of melons do you raise? The kind of melon with the yellow meat? [If you get cantaloupe either way, ask] "Are there other names, another kind of melon with yellow meat, just shaped differently?"

8. mushroom /record stress pattern/ *mushroon, *mushyroom

L: What springs up in the woods and fields after a rain? Little white umbrella-shaped.
M: Small umbrella-shaped things that you grow in damp cellars or in the shade? Anything like this that grows on stumps or fallen logs? Any other names? Are they good to eat? What kinds?

9. watermelons /investigate varieties and local designations by size? color: shape? meat? seeds?/

P: I think you mentioned (or didn't mention) these before when we were talking about melons. They are large and green and people sometimes pickle the rind. What different kinds do you know of? Why do they have those names?

57

1. toadstools *frogstools, *frog bench, *frog table, *fairy caps, *black man's cap

H: [Speaking of mushrooms], the ones you don't eat.
L: [Speaking of mushrooms], you call it a ___ if it is not good to eat.
M: Anthing that looks kind of like a mushroom, only it's not good to eat. Other names?

2. He couldn't) swallow it *swaller it

B: If a man has a sore throat so the inside of his throat is all swollen, you say, "He couldn't eat that piece of meat because he couldn't ___; he could chew it, but he couldn't ___.

H: If a child were playing with a ball and you were afraid he'd put it in his mouth, you might tell someone, "I'm worried that he might ___."
L: He had finished chewing it; the next step is to ___.
M: That soup's so hot, it's all I can do to ___.

(3.) cigars and cigarettes

L: What do people smoke? The short white ones and the long brown ones?
M: Some people smoke pipes; others smoke ___ and ___.

(4.) She was) singing and laughing /record other examples in -n or with the prefix a-/ *a-singin' and a-laughin'

M: There were a lot of people at the party, having a good time. They were standing around the piano ___. And if a funny story had been told, they'd all be ___.

(5.) I'm not) obligated to anyone *beholden to nobody

L: He wouldn't accept the coat even though he was shivering with cold because he didn't want to be ___ to ___.
M: Somebody offers to do you a favor; you say, "I appreciate it, but I don't want to be ___."

(6.) I can (do it /stress on do/

M: Somebody asks about you doing a certain job and you'd say, "Sure, I ___ it."

7. I can't /stress on can't/

L: Can you? No, I ___.
M: If you're not able to do something, you say, "I'd like to, but I ___."

8. I done worked (all day /only emphatic?/ *I done and worked

M: Somebody asks you, about sundown, to do some work and you say, "I got up to work before sunup and I ____ all I'm going to today."

(9.) He is) done dead *already

M: If you are talking about the fact that so few of your old friends are still alive, you might say, "I've spent all week looking for my high school classmates and it seems they're ___. [Suggest done dead if necessary.]
P: There was a terrible accident up the road, but there was no need to call a doctor because the victim was ____ by the time we got there.

(1.) He should be (careful *belongs to be, *ought to be /indicate contexts/

M: In such a situation, he ___ to be careful. Or, speaking of the fact the corn seems short, you might say, "At this time of year it ___ taller. It isn't as tall as it ___."

(2.) You dare not (do it /try a situation where one boy is daring another to do something; seek the opposite of dare(s)/ *dassn't, *daren't

M: I'll dare you to go through the graveyard at night, but I'll bet you ___.

(3.) He ought (to know *had ought /observe in conversation; record an ought form; do not rest content with should/

L: You knew when you first agreed to go that you ___ to tell your mother (or wife, husband, father).
M: You aren't doing what you ___ to do.

4. He ought not /negative of he ought to; record an ought form/ *hadn't ought, *oughtn't, *ortn't

M: A boy got a whipping; you say, "I bet he did something he ____."

5. I) won't do it

L: Will you do it? No, I ___.
M: In refusing in a very strong way, you say, "No matter how many times you ask me to do that, I ___."

6. You) might have helped me *maught've holp me /record might have/

M: When you get something done that was hard work all by yourself and your friend was standing around without helping, you say, "You ____."

7. I) might could (do it /future? past?/

M: Suggesting the possibility of being able to do something, you say, "I'm not sure, but I ___." Or, you say, "If it quits raining by Thursday, I ___ get the yard work finished."

59

1. screech owl /small/ *squeech owl, *squinch owl, *skrinch owl, *scrooch owl, *scritch owl

L: The kind of bird that can see in the dark.

M: What kinds of birds make scary noises at night, especially around a graveyard. [When you get owl, ask] "What kinds of owls do you have around here? What do you call the little owl with the shrill voice?"

2. hoot owl /large; other kinds of owls?/ *hoo-hoo owl

B: Bird which hoots at night. What does it look like?
M: The bigger kind with the deeper voice.

3. woodpecker /get kinds/ *peckerwood, *shirt-tail

M: The kind of bird that drills holes in trees. [Be on the lookout for peckerwood. At the end of this item, ask if anybody--or any class of people--has ever been compared to woodpeckers.]
P: What do you call that big one, about the size of a half-grown chicken?

4. skunk *pole cat

M: The kind of black and white animal with a powerful smell. Other names?

5. varmints /define: any animals? small predators? rats and mice? lice and bedbugs, etc.?/

M: What kinds of animals come and raid hen roosts? Any name that takes care of them all? You might say, "I'm going to get me a gun and some traps and stop those ___." [As last resort, suggest the term and get definition.]

6. gray squirrel *quack, *cat squirrel, *(mountain) boomer

L: The bushy-tailed animal in the tree tops in the city streets. What color are they?
M: The little bushy-tailed animals that run up and down trees. What kinds do you have? Other names for them?
P: [At the end of the item if (mountain) boomer has not been discussed], "Have you ever heard of a squirrel called a boomer? What it is like?"

7. red squirrel *fox squirrel /get other kinds/

L: What other colors are they?
M: How do these different squirrels compare in size?

8. chipmunk /not pocket gopher/ *ground squirrel, *gopher, *picket pin, *grinnie

M: Anything sort of like a squirrel, but doesn't climb trees? Can you describe what it looks like and where it lives, what part of the country?

(9.) /common freshwater fish; in Gulf area and Florida investigate saltwater fish as well/

H: Name all the kinds of fish you get around here?
M: What kinds of sea food do you commonly get?

60

1. oysters

M: [See 59.9] What is it you aren't supposed to eat if the name of the month doesn't have an -r in it?
P: What do pearls grow in?

2. bullfrog *bull-paddocks, *bull-paddies, *bloody-noun, *buddy-dunk

L: What croaks in the marshes?
M: These things you'll hear making a noise around a pond at night? What do you call the big ones? [If necessary, imitate their jug-a-rum call.]

3. springfrogs /small green frog, piping noise/ *peepers, *March peepers, *peewinks, *treefrogs, *tree toads, *grass frogs, *rain frogs, *grunois, *Pickering's tree frog, *Pickering's Hylodes, *Pickering's Hyla, *peeping frog, *piping frog, *castanet tree frog

B: The little ones you hear in the spring.
M: Other kinds of frogs? The kind with the little voices that come out after a storm? Other names for them? The ones that are supposed to be a sign that winter is over?
P: The kind of frog that never grows to much more than an inch in size.

4. toad *toad frog, *hop-toad, *dry-land frog

H: The brown thing that lives in the garden and is supposed to give warts.
L: The kind that hops around on the land.
M: The kind that hop around in your garden and eat insects and are sometimes blamed for warts.

5. earthworm *angleworm, *bait, *mud-worm, *red-worm, *fish-worm, *fishing worm, *ground worm, *rain worm, *isses, *day worm

H: Things that you dig to go fishing with.
M: What might you put on your hook when you go fishing? What do you call the wiggly things you dig up to put on your hook? [After you get worm, ask] "What kind of worm? Other names? Finally, is there a name for the bigger, livelier kind?"

6. turtle /in water?/ *turkle, *cooter

M: The hard-shelled thing that pulls in its neck and legs into its shell when you touch it? Kinds? Dry land? Fresh water? Salt water?

7. terrapin /on land?/ *tarpin, *cooter, *gopher

   M: Something like a turtle only it lives on dry land. [Be on the alert for gopher in south Georgia and the Gulf States for a large burrowing dry-land turtle.]

8. crawfish *crawdad, *crayfish

   M: A kind of thing that you find in fresh-water streams; it's got claws and when you turn over a rock it often swims away backward.

(9.) shrimp(s) /pronunciation and plural form/

   M: [See 59.9] Just buy a couple of pounds of ___.
   P: Those small, fan-tailed sea-animals with a thin, almost transparent, shell that are caught by dragging nets along the bottom of the bay, gulf, or ocean. At the fish market, you might ask for a few pounds of ___. Are there different kinds? Can you describe them?

60A

1. moth /around candle/ *candle fly, *miller, *moth miller

   M: The insect that flies around a light and tries to fly into it; when you grab it, powder comes off on your hands. Other names?

2. moths /in clothes; get singular and plural forms/

   L: What flies around the house and lays its eggs in old clothes?
   M: The things that get in your wool clothes and eat them up if you aren't careful.

3. firefly *lightning bug, *fire bug, *June bug

   L: What flies around with a light in its tail by night?
   M: The things that fly around at night and flash their lights on and off.

4. dragon fly *snake doctor, *snake feeder, *mosquito hawk, *darning needle, *spindle

   M: A long thin-bodied insect, with a hard little beak and two pairs of shiny wings; it hovers around damp places and eats its own weight in mosquitoes, etc. Any other names? Sometimes people say that they're a sign snakes are nearby.

5. hornets /describe varieties; size, shape, color, nest, sting/

   M: What kinds of stinging insects do you know? A kind of insect that builds big paper nests, the size of a football, in trees? More than one kind?

6. wasps /size, shape, color, nest, sting/; dirt daubers /the wasp that builds a nest of mud/ *mud dauber, *masons, *wans, *wan-bees

M: The kind that build small paper nests, often on the side of a house. More than one kind? The kind that build mud nests up the side of a house; do they sting?

7. yellow-jacket /wasp or hornet? nest in ground only?/

M: The kind that build nests in the ground and swarm over you?

8. mosquito *skeeter, *skitter

M: Things that fly around at night and bite; sometimes they carry malaria.

9. chiggers *redbugs *harvest mites, *jiggers

M: Small insects that burrow in your skin and raise welts.
P: If you are walking in the woods without boots, these little things burrow in your skin and cause severe itching.

61

1. grasshopper *hoppergrass

M: What are the insects, some green and some brown, that hop along in the grass in the summertime?
P: Have you ever heard people call them hoppergrass? Who?

2. minnows /a bait/ *minnies, *shiners, *minnow fish, *killie(fish), *silvers

M: Small fish used for bait.

3. spiderweb /in house and outdoors/ *spider's web, *cobweb, *spider nest, *dew web

L: What do you find stretched across the corners of the room when it hasn't been cleaned? Any other name? Is there any difference?
M: The things that gather up in the ceiling of rooms that haven't been cleaned? Other names? The kind you see outside span over a bush. [Make sure you get the different names for inside and outside varieties.]

4. roots /investigate types and medicinal uses of roots and vines, e.g., squaw-vine, star-root, sang, and coharsh/

L: Part of a tree underneath the ground in called the ___.
M: When you're pulling up a stump, you have to dig around and cut the ___.

P: Did you ever gather any special types of these to use or sell? What were they used for? How were the preparations made? Did they do much good?

(5.) sugar maple *sugar tree, *hard-maple, *rock maple

M: The kind of tree you tap for syrup?

(6.) maple grove *sugar bush, *sugar orchard, *sap bush

L: What do you call the place where there is a lot of rock maples growing where you get your sugar.
M: What would you call a big group of these trees?

7. sycamore *button wood, *button ball, *plane tree /ask for names of local trees/

M: A kind of tree with broad leaves which are shed all at one time, with bark that peels, with little knobs or balls, and with tough wood used for chopping blocks.
P: A tall shade tree with long white limbs and white scaly bark.

8. /common trees in the community/

62

1. cherry tree

L: What did George Washington cut down?

2. sumach

H: Shrub whose leaves become very red in the fall and which is poison to some people. Are there two kinds?
L: A very tall bush or shrub with a stem of leaves growing from it that turns bright red in the fall and it has a little red bunch at the top. It grows all over the hillside.
M: A bush that grows along the road or by fences; the leaves turn bright red early; small clusters of berries or bobs, used by old people in tanning leather.

3. poison ivy *poison oak, *poison vine, *mercury

M: Any kinds of bushes that make your skin break out when you brush against them?
P: Are there different kinds? Do they grow differently? Do they have different numbers of leaves?

4. strawberries /ask for names of local berries/

L: Red berries you eat with sugar and cream.
M: What kinds of berries you have around here? Berries you make shortcake out of?

5. raspberries

M: Kinds of berries with rough surface? Some are red; some red and black? Any special names for these?

6. Some berries are) poisonous *poison

L: Some berries that grow in the woods are not good to eat. If they could kill you, you say they are ____.
M: Be careful about these berries, they might be ____.

7. mountain laurel *laurel, *ivy, *spoonwood, *spoonhunt

L: Tall bush with clusters of beautiful pink and white flowers.
M: The flowering bushes that bloom in the late spring.

8. rhododendron *laurel

M: Much bigger ones with longer segments of stem; these grow further up in the mountains.

9. magnolia *laurel tree, *cucumber tree, *cowcumber

M: A large flowering tree; shiny leaves; big white flowers; leaves a prickly seed pod about the size and shape of a cucumber.

63

1. I must ask) my husband *my man, *the mister, *my old man

L: If a married woman doesn't want to make up her own mind, she says, "I must ask ___."
M: Other names? Names used by older people?

2. I must ask) my wife *my woman, *the wife, *the missis, *my old lady

L: And a man would say, "I must ask ___."
M: Other names? Names used by older people?

3. widow *widow-(w)oman

L: A woman who has lost her husband is called a ___.
M: A woman whose husband is dead is a ___. And if he just left her, she'd be a ___[grass widow].

4. father

L: The man whose son you are is called your ___.
M: A boy who has a chance at a job might want to go home and talk it over with his ___.
P: [To open the discussion for the rest of the items on this page] who took care of you when you were little? And her husband was your ____.

5. What do you call your father? /usual term and terms of affection as both an adult and as a child/ *pa, *paw, *pop, *popper, *pappy, *daddy, *dad

L: What did you call your father when you were a little boy? What did other boys call their fathers?
M: What did you call your father? What terms did older people use? What terms do younger people use?

6. mother

P: And his wife is called your ___.

7. What do you call your mother? /usual term and terms of affection as both an adult and as a child/ *ma, *maw, *mom, *mommer

L: What did you call your mother? What did others say?
M: Other names you use? Other names older people use? Other names younger people use?

8. parents

L: Your father and mother together are called your ___.
P: [See 63.4]

64

1. grandfather /usual term and terms of affection as both an adult and as as child/ *grandpah, *granpap, *grampy, *granther, *gramps

L: Your father's father is called your ___. Any more affectionate terms that children might use?
M: Did you know your grandparents? What did you call your grandfather(s)? Other names you used? Other names older people used? Other names younger people use?

2. grandmother /usual term and terms of affection as both an adult and as a child/ *grammah, *grammy, *granny, *gramps, *gran

L: His wife would be your ___. Any other terms?
M: What did you call your grandmother(s)? Other names people use? Names older people used? Names younger people use?

(3.) Our children (are still in school *young'uns, *kids, *chaps

B: Your sons and daughters are called your ___.
M: I was the youngest of five ___. Any names people use instead of children?

(4.) pet name *basket name /record both generic and specific terms/

L: Pet name for a child. You say he is a cute little ___.
M: A name a child's known by just in the family ___. Especially names it's called by older people.

5. baby carriage *baby buggy, *baby cab, *baby coach, *buggy wagon

M: Something on wheels you can put a baby in and it'll lie down.
P: [Be sure you record a term for the kind with 8 to 10 inch wheels with a cowl or hood, i.e., a crib-on-wheels rather than a chair-on-wheels.] Other kinds?

6. wheel (the baby *roll, *ride, *air

M: Put the baby in the carriage and go out and ___ it [i.e., the baby]. Or, if you were going to go out with the baby, you would say, "I am going to ___ the baby."

(7.) He's the) most grown up (of my boys /superlative of past participle; emotional maturity, not necessarily chronological age/ *grown-uppest

M: How would you say your children range in age? Sally is the ___ of my children. Or, a boy of 20, in comparison with brothers of 14 and 16, is the ___. Besides oldest, you might speak of them in terms of being grown up, "He's the ___." Or, Jim is grown up, but of all the boys, Tom is the ___.

8. daughter

L: Your children are your sons and ___.
M: Betty's our youngest ___.

9. girl

L: Your children are boys and ___.
M: In fact, she's still a little ___.

(1.) She is) pregnant /terms used by women, by men/ *big with child, *expecting, *in health, *she (is) foot broke, *she broke foot, *she broke her leg

B: If a woman is going to have a child, you say she's ___.
H: If a woman is going to have a child fairly soon, she is ___.
L: If a woman is expecting to have a child, what is the term used by women to describe her condition? You say she is ___.
M: If a woman's about to have a baby, you say she's ___. Any other terms? Any other terms used by women to each other? Suppose the woman doesn't have a husband? Any joking ways of talking about it? She got herself ___. She ___.

2. midwife *granny, *granny woman, *godmother

M: If you don't have a doctor to deliver a baby, the woman you might send for is a ___. Any other names? Any names older people used?

3. The boy) resembles (his father. /in looks? disposition?/

L: If a boy and his father have the same appearance, you say the boy ___.
M: If a boy has the same color hair and eyes as his father and the same shape nose, you say he ___. Any other terms? Suppose he acquires the mannerisms and behavior of his father, you say he ___. Any terms used disapprovingly, as if he's acquiring his father's bad habits?

4. She has) reared (three children *raised, *brought up, *fetched up, *fotch up

L: If a mother has looked after three children until they are grown up, you say she has ___ three children.
M: You ought to take Aunt Jane's advice about your children; she's ___ ten of them. Children may be allowed to do that now, but that wasn't the way I was ___.
P: She had a hard life; her husband died and she ___ six children all by herself.

(5.) You('re going to get a) whipping /to child/ *licking, *smacking, *skutching, *skelping, *trouncing, *correcting, *browsing, *linting, *larruping, *tanning, *blistering, *thrashing, *frailing, *skinning, *shellacking, *switching, *beating

L: To a naughty child, you say, "You are going to get a ___."
M: To a child who's misbehaved, you say, "If you do that again, I'll give you a good ___." Any other terms? To small children? One boy to another? Young boys? Older boys?

(6.) /principal parts of grow/

L: If Bob is five inches taller this year, you say Bob ___ a lot in one year. You say to him, "You certainly have ___ big."

M: Or, you might say, "My how you've ___."
P: That Bob came up so fast you could almost see him ___.

7. bastard /illegitimate child/ *woods colt, *come-by-chance, *catch-colt, *old-field colt, *volunteer, *base-born (child), *bush child, *Sunday baby, *buzzard egg

M: A child that's born to an unmarried woman is a ___. Any jesting names? Any names you have heard used by other groups? Blacks? poor whites? etc.?

66

1. Peggy is) a lovinger (child than Jane /comparative of loving; record other instances of polysyllabic comparatives in -er/

M: Jane is a loving child, but Peggy is a lot ___.

2. nephew

L: Your brother's son is called your ___.

3. orphan(t) /is word used only of children in an institution?/ *orphan child, *orphanhouse child

L: A child that's lost its father and mother is called ___.
M: If a child has lost both parents, it's ____. Suppose it's been put in an institution, it's ___.

4. guardian *guardeen

B: A person appointed to look after an orphan is its ___.
L: The orphan is looked after by its legal ___.

5. her relatives *people, *folks, *kinfolks, *folkes, *home folks, *kinnery

B: If a woman gives a party and invites all the people that are related to her, you say, "She asked all ___."
L: If a woman has been away from home for a long time, she sometimes goes back to visit all her ___. The people related to her.
M: If you have a lot of cousins, nephews, and nieces around, you say, "The town is full of my ___." Would you use the same word for your parents and grandparents? For the people living in your house?

6. I'm) no kin to her *no relation

M: Yes, she has the same family name and does look a bit like me, but I'm actually ___.

(7.) stranger *foreigner, *new-comer, *frenne

M: Someone who comes into town and no one has ever seen him before, he's a ___. Would it make any difference how far he came from? If he was from another country? Would you use the word foreigner of someone not from another country?

67

1. Mary

B: Common name for a girl beginning with M.
H: The sisters in the Bible at whose house Jesus stayed.
L: Who were the sisters of Lazarus?
M: The name of the mother of Jesus?

2. Martha

B: George Washington's wife.
H: [See 67.1]
L: [See 67.1]

3. Nelly

B: Nickname for Helen beginning with N.
H: Name of the girl in the song about Aunt Dinah's quilting party.
M: In the song, "Wait till the sun shines ___."
P: Who did the cow kick in the stomach in the barn?

4. Billy

B: Nickname for a little boy named William beginning with B.
M: Will is a nickname for ___. Other nicknames for William. Nicknames applied to a little boy named William. A male goat? B___ the Kid, the bandit.

5. Matthew

B: Who wrote the first of the four gospels? The other three were Mark, Luke, and John.
L: First book of the New Testament in the Bible.
M: The book with the Sermon on the Mount. Matt is a short name for ___.

(6.) woman teacher *school ma'am, *school marm, *school miss

M: A woman who conducts school is a ___.
P: Any old-fashioned terms?

7. Mrs. Cooper /slow and fast pronunciations; get Cooper first, as a familiar family name, one of the rivers in Charleston, the name of a barrel maker, the Leatherstocking novelist, Baseball's Hall of Fame in ___stown, or the greatest battery of brothers in the history of the game, Mort and Walker ___; then ask, "How'd you address a woman by that name?" miz form can be recorded in conversation, but do not confuse that with Women's Lib usage/

8. jackleg preacher /untrained; part-time/ *yard ax, *shadetree

M: A preacher that's not really trained, doesn't have a regular pulpit, preaches on Sunday here and there and makes his living doing something else. If he isn't very good at preaching, you'd call him a ___. A part-time carpenter you might trust to build a chicken coop, but you wouldn't trust him with anything serious is a ___. Do you ever use jackleg about preachers?
P: [After asking about jackleg] "What exactly does it mean to you? Would you say a jackleg lawyer? jackleg teacher? jackleg governor? jackleg doctor?"

9. your aunt

L: What relation would my mother's sister be to me?
M: Your mother (or father) introduces you to his brother and sister and says, "This is ___ ___ and this is ___ ___." Or, your mother has a sister living nearby and suggests, "This is a good afternoon for you to go visit ____."

68

(1.) Sarah

L: Wife of Abraham. Girl's name beginning with S. Sally is a nickname for ___.
M: [As last resort, try trade names, e.g., Sarah Lee.]

(2.) Uncle William; Uncle John /introduce through family names or names in the news/

M: If your father had a brother by that name you'd call him ___.

3. General Lee /title, not primary stress/

M: The commander of the Army of Northern Virginia was ___.
P: If you had addressed George Patton, you wouldn't have called him Mister Patton, but ___.

4. Colonel Sanders

M: The old gentleman who introduced Kentucky fried chicken.

5. captain /to whom used? military title? general term of address to white employers? only by blacks?/

   P: What do they call the man in charge of a ship? Do you use that title in other situations? With children? With the foreman of a railroad gang?

6. Judge Marshall /local names or names in the news/

   M: The man who presides over the county court; how do you address him?

7. student *scholar, *pupil

   B: What do you call a person who goes to college to study?
   H: A person who studies is a ___?
   L: Someone who goes to high school is called a high school ___.
   M: A boy or girl in school is a ___. College? High school? Grade school?

8. secretary

   B: A person employed by a businessman to look after his correspondence is called his private ___.
   M: A woman in an office who handles the boss's mail, schedules his appointments, etc., is his ___.

69

1. actress *stage woman, *show woman

   M: A woman who appears in plays or movies is ___.
   P: A man on the stage would be an actor; a woman would be ___.

2. American

   L: Your nationality--anyone born in the USA is called ____.
   M: When you're thinking about the problems other countries have, you're glad you're ___.

3. Negro /neutral, jocular, and derogatory terms/

   M: [Almost inconceivable that some term wouldn't have appeared by this point in the interview. Take off from such a term and explore] terms whites use to them? about them? Words you would probably use yourself.
   P: Not too many years ago they had special facilities, from schools and public toilets to seats in restaurants and buses, for ___. [See M above]

4. Caucasian /neutral, jocular, and derogatory terms/

   P: But you (or someone else or I) would be called a ___. Any other words you might use in special situations? If you were angry? In a joking spirit? Just another ordinary word you might use? [With Negro informants, note generalization of terms for poor whites and rustics, e.g., redneck, peckerwood, cracker, and hillbilly, for all Caucasians] Could you call Richard Nixon a peckerwood? a cracker?

5. /a child born of a racially-mixed (black and white) marriage? With one black grandparent? With one black great grandparent? With especially light-colored skin? Investigate such terms especially in black communities/

(6.) Master (John *marse

   M: What would you call the man you work for? How would you address him? If you weren't using his last name? Would black usage be different from white? Older usage?

7. the poor whites /white man's terms/ *Jackson whites, *common people, *trash, *rednecks /investigate local understanding of term cracker, here and in 69.8/

   M: White people who aren't well off, haven't had a chance at education, and the like, especially those that are good for nothing, too lazy to work, etc. Does it make any difference if they're town or country people?

8. the poor whites /black man's terms/ *poor buckra, *crackers, *peckerwoods, *pecks

   M: What do Negroes call them? [Look for the words common and ordinary with their connotations in 69.7-8.]

9. a rustic /neutral, jocular, and derogatory terms/ *mountain boomer, *yahoo, *hoodger, *cracker, *hillbilly, *swamp angel, *mossback, *countryman, *backwoodsman, *cove-ite, *hayseed, *ridge runner, *stump jumper, *jackpine savage, *hay shaker

   M: Somebody who lives out in the country, doesn't know anything about town ways, and is conspicuous when he gets to town. Of himself, he might say, "I don't know anything about city ways; I'm just an old ___." How would town people refer to him; e.g., children might say, "Look at that old ___." [Ask about people from particular locations--mountains, swamps, sandhills, piney woods, redclay country, etc.] Any particular terms used by blacks? Do you know the term hoosier? In what senses?

1. It's) almost (midnight *nigh, *well-nigh, *nigh onto, *near, *nearly, *pretty near

   B: If it's not quite midnight and somebody asks you what time it is, you might say, "Well, it's not quite midnight yet, but it's ___."
   M: At a party, you look at your watch and see it's 11:30 or so. You say, "We better be getting home; it's ___midnight."

2. I) almost fell down *like to've fallen, *like to fell

   M: You slip and catch yourself; you say, "This is a dangerous place. I ___ fell."
   P: That ice is hard to walk on; I managed to keep my balance, but I ___ fell three or four times.

3. Just a minute

   B: If someone is waiting for you to get ready so that you can go out with him and he calls to you, "Hey, will you be ready soon?" You might answer, "I'll be with you in ___."

4. How far (is it to Jackson?

   M: You know you're on the right road but aren't sure of the distance; you ask somebody, "How ___?"

5. Look here! /exclamation; serious or jesting? calling attention; reprimanding, especially parent to child or senior workman to junior/ *look-a-here, *look-it-here

   L: If you are pointing out something nearby, you say ___.

1. How often (do you go to town?

   L: If you want to know how many times, you say, "How ___ do you go to town."

2. Neither am I! *nor I (n)either, *me neither

   M: You agree with a friend when he says, "I'm not going to do that," or, "I'm not going to vote for that guy"; you say, "___!"
   P: [As a last resort] you might say, "___ am I" or "Me ___." Which of those seems most natural?

3. forehead /for 71.3-72.7, point; the following contexts are useful with blind or nearly blind informants/

P: The part of your head above your eyes where you might put your hand when you're tired.

4. hair; beard

M: Go to the barber and have him cut your ___. If you haven't shaved in a week or so, you're probably growing a ___.
P: If I [or some man] didn't shave around here [pointing to chin and jaws], I [or he] might be growing a ___.

5. left ear; right ear

M: Where did the old-time storekeeper keep his pencil when he wasn't using it, so it would always be handy? [If behind his ear, record 10.5.] Which? What if he was lefthanded?

6. mouth

M: If someone's mumbling, you say, "Take that chewing gum out of your ___."

7. neck; throat *goozle /investigate meaning of goozle/

P: He got a chickenbone stuck in his ___. You wear a tie around your ___. What do you call this little part of the neck right here [the Adam's apple, thyroid cartilage]? Does goozle mean just the Adam's apple or the whole throat or what?

8. tooth; teeth

M: You have the dentist look at your ___. He says he needs to fill that ___.

9. gums

L: The flesh around the teeth.
M: The dentist says, "You're taking pretty good care of your teeth, but you better pay more attention to your ___."

72

1. palm (of the hand *pan, *panel

P: You could hold that baby bird in the ___ of your hand.

2. fist; fists

M: He got mad and doubled up both ___.
P: He shook his ___ at the man who ran him off the road.

3. joint

B: Any place where you can bend your finger or your hand or your arm.
H: What do you call the knuckles?
L: Place where two bones come together.
M: People get old and complain they're getting stiff in their ___.

4. chest /of a male/ *breast; shoulders

P: The upper part of a man's body in his ___. He's got broad ___.

5. hand; hands

P: They measure the height of a horse in ___. You have a left and a right ___.

6. leg; foot; feet

P: The pain ran from his heel all the way up his ___. At the end of your leg is your ___. You have two ___.

7. the shins *shanks

M: I stumbled over a box in the dark and bruised my ___.

8. the haunches /describe or demonstrate/

M: Back part of thighs, especially midway between knee and buttock. You're squatting down on your ___. [Note hunker down as variant for 96.4]
P: When the ground is too cold or muddy to sit on, you might get down like this when you're inspecting the leaves on a tobacco plant or passing the time with a friend [demonstrate]. You're down on your ___.

9. peaked /as a result of ill health/ *puny, *sickly, *poor, *scrawny, *thaveless

M: Someone's been sick a while; he's up and about now, but still looks a bit ___. How would you say he felt? Any other expressions?

/get definitions for all; indicate contexts/

1. strong *stout, *husky, *robust

   H: Person who can lift heavy weights? Who is robust and healthy?
   L: If a man is very big and muscular and athletic, you say he is very ___.
   M: He is big and ___. [If stout has not occurred, try other contexts] You can smoke (or eat or drink) that, but I find it too ___.
   P: When you spoke of old butter before, you mentioned its getting ___ before it got rancid. How about a man who was overweight, but very strong? Would you ever use stout in describing that butter turning bad?

(2.) good-natured *clever, *kind, *admirable, *pleasant, *likely, *common

   H: One who is very easy to get along with? Of a horse?
   L: If someone has a very good disposition so that everyone likes, you say he is very ___.
   M: Some person who always has a smile on his face and never loses his temper, you say, he's mighty ___.

3. He's so) awkward /referring to physical appearance/ *ganglin', *gawny, *gorming, *clumsy, *gawky

   B: When a boy is in his teens he is apt to be all arms and legs and can't walk through a room without knocking over the furniture, you say, "At that age he is awfully ___."
   H: If a boy was growing and his arms and legs were too long for him, you say, "I don't know what to do with him, he's so ___." Of calves?
   L: If a boy is in his teens grows very tall and doesn't fill out so that he is not very graceful when he walks along, always stumbling, you say he is so ___.
   M: Somebody--like a teenager--who's all arms and legs and always stumbling over his feet, you say he's mighty ___.

(4.) that fool! /only of men? of women?/

   M: A person who keeps on doing things that don't make any sense, you say he is a plain ___. [Inhibitions about the word fool?] Other names?

(5.) He is a) tight-wad /one who holds on to what he has? one who gets the most out of others?/

   H: Person who will never spend a cent?
   L: A man never spends his money you call him a ___.
   M: A person who has plenty of money and hangs on to it is a ___. Somebody who gets money and help from other people and doesn't give much or anything in return.

P: [If miser has been elicited] Mr. Brown will pay you good money, but you'll have to earn it; he's a regular ___, and nobody ever beats him out of anything.

6. common /is common ever used in a complimentary sense?/

M: When you use the word common about a person, what does it mean?
P: If you said, "That girl is very common," what would you mean?

74

1. She's) quite lively /of young people? old people? both? get both adjective and qualifier/ *right peart, *spry, *brash, *peppy, *trappy, *chipper, *ficety (of children)

B: If an old man is still very strong and active and doesn't show his age, you say, "He's still quite ___." If it's a young person you are talking about, one that's always moving around, always on the go, you say, "He is very ___."
H: An old lady who acts like 16: "For her age, she's ___." Of young people full of life?
L: If someone is quite quick and active in all her motions, you say, she is quite ___. And what do you say of older people who are still able to move around very well? They are quite ___.
M: An old person--say, about 80--who does his farm work (her housework) and doesn't get tired, you say, "I don't care how old he (she) is; he's (she's) mighty ___."

(2.) uneasy /record other instances of un- prefix/

M: The children are out later than usual; you say, "I don't suppose there's anything wrong, but I can't help feeling a little ___."
P: [If you get worried or concerned] you wouldn't say you feel easy/ about it; you'd say you felt ___ or ___.

3. I'm) afraid /temporary or habitual/ *scared, *scary, *afeared, *all of a shiver

M: I don't want to go upstairs in the dark; I'm ___. Other words? A person who gets afraid easily is kind of ___. A place, like a dark road alongside a graveyard is ___.

(4.) She) used to be (afraid /record used to and used to be as sentence qualifiers/

M: She isn't afraid now, but she ___. Or, about the old gray mare, "She ain't what she ___."

5. She) didn't used to (be afraid of the dark *usen't to

M: I don't understand why she's afraid, she ___. [As last resort] What's the opposite of used to be?

6. careless

M: Somebody who leaves a lot of money on the table and the door unlocked, you'd say he's mighty ___.
P: I wouldn't say these kids around here are reckless drivers, but some of them sure are ___ about signaling and parking in town. Or, your son made too many mistakes in addition on an arithmetic test, you say, "You shouldn't be so ___ with your figures."

7. queer /what does it mean?/

M: There's nothing really wrong with Aunt Lizzie, but sometimes she acts kind of ___. [Get synonyms] Now the word queer, would you use that? Has it changed its meaning for you in recent years?
P: [After queer has been elicited] Give me a few examples of how you'd use the word queer. [After queer has been elicited as an adjective] Would you ever say "He is a queer" to mean he's eccentric? What would it mean then?

8. Don't be so) obstinate *stubborn, *set, *sot, *pig-headed, *ornery, *cracky, *bumptious, *bull-headed, *mule-headed, *hard-headed

L: If a man is very sure of his own ways and never wants to change, you say, "Don't be so ___. Don't be so ___ in your ways."
M: Somebody who makes up his mind and nothing can make him change it is mighty ___. Or, in arguing with someone like that, you might say, "Don't be so ___."

75

1. touchy /easily offended; irritable/ *touchous, *ficety, *testy, *fretful, *short-patient

M: Somebody you can't joke with without him losing his temper, you say, is mighty ___. Or, if somebody loses his temper when the least little thing goes wrong, he's awfully ___.

2. He got awfully) angry *mad, *het-up, *ashy, *ugly, *owly, *shirty, *mean, *(se)vigrous

M: I was just kidding him; I didn't know he'd get ___. If he's of bad temper all the time, he's ___.

3. keep calm! /when used?/

M: Somebody's about to lose his temper, you tell him, just ___.
P: In a burning building with many people in it, someone might say, "Keep ___ and we'll get out all right."

4. tired; exhausted /normal and strong terms/ *fagged out, *perished, *beat out, *tuckered out, *used up, *done up, *done in, *petered out, *kilt, *give out, *whipped, *pooped, *all in, *bushed, *blowed

L: If you have been working very hard, you say you are very ___. If you are very, very tired, you say you are all ___.

5. He is) worn out *wore (slam) out, *tore in two, *broke in two

L: [After other synonyms are elicited] If you use wear out, you say, he is all ___.
M: I'm completely ___. [Be sure to get worn out for grammar.]

76

1. She) got sick *took sick, *was taken sick, *was took sick

H: If a person has been quite well and you hear that suddenly they have some disease, you say, "Last night she ___."
L: If she is sick today and it started last Sunday, you say, "Last Sunday, she ___ sick."
M: He came home early from school (or work, or whatever) because he ___. You hear somebody is in the hospital and say, "He was looking fine yesterday; when was it he ___."

(2.) He is sick now, but he will be well again) by and by *bumbye, *bimbye

B: But she'll be up again by ___.
H: But you don't have to worry, he'll be well again ___.
M: [Emphasize the indefiniteness] We'll get there ___. We'll get the work done ___.

3. He) caught a cold *caught cold, *took cold, *taken cold, *take cold, *ketched cold

B: If a person sat in a draught and began to cough, last night he ___.
H: If a man was out in a heavy rain yesterday and didn't change his clothes when he came home, and today he is going around sniffing and sneezing, what happened to him in the rain?
L: If he has a cold today and it started last Sunday, you say, "Last Sunday he ___ cold."
M: Somebody got overheated and chilled and his eyes and nose started running. You say, "He ___."

4. I'm) hoarse

B: If it affected his voice, he is ___.
L: If it is with your voice, you say, "I'm ___."
M: [Talk that way] He sounds kind of ___.

5. He has a) cough

M: [Do it] I've got a little ___.

6. drowsy *sleepy

M: I better go to bed; I'm feeling a little ___. [Yawn as you say it]

7. wake up /intransitive/ *rouse

M: At six o'clock I'll ___.

8. wake up /transitive/ *rouse

M: He's still sleeping; better go ___.

77

1. /principal parts of take/

M: If the medicine is still by the patient's bedside, you ask, "Why haven't you ___ your medicine?"
P: The patient might answer, "I ___some yesterday, and I'll ___ some more later."

2. deaf

L: If you can't hear anything at all, you say you are stone ___.
M: Somebody who can't hear well is getting a little ___. [If hard of hearing is the response, continue] If he can hardly hear at all, he's ___.

3. He sweat (hard *sweated /be sure to get preterit form/

L: If he began to sweat when he started to work, by the time he finished you would say he ___ a lot in the hot sun.
M: You've been working hard, and you take your wet shirt off and say, "Look how I ___."

4. boil /a discharging sore/ *cattair, *risin', *raisin'

B: A discharging sore that comes to a head.
H: Something that comes on the back of the neck or on the body, very sore, and has to be opened? Different terms for one on the neck and one on the arm?
L: Sore place on the skin beginning with b.
M: A lump on your arm with a big core in it; it's a ___. If more than one core?

5. pus *matter, *corruption, *humor

M: When a boil opens, the stuff that drains out is ___. Other names?

(6.) /principal parts of swell/

B: If you have got some infection in your hand so that your hand got bigger than it ought to be, you say, "My hand ___." Did what?
M: A bee stung me, and my hand ___. It's still pretty badly ___.
P: If it's not infected, it probably won't ___ much.

(7.) water /in a blister/ *humor

M: When you get a blister, the liquid that forms under the skin is ___.
P: When's the best time to open a blister? Why? What do you drain from it?

78

1. wound /noun/

L: In a war, if a bullet goes through your arm, you say you have a ___.
M: Somebody got shot or stabbed and you'd say you got a doctor to look at the ___.

2. proud flesh /note intonation: stress and pitch/

B: A kind of skinless growth in a wound that's got to be burned out.
L: What kind of flesh grows in it [i.e., in the wound]?
M: When a wound doesn't heal clean, a white granular substance might form around the edge. Sometimes it has to be cut out or burned out with alum; it's ___. Some kind of flesh? Did you ever hear of proud flesh?

3. iodine

B: If you get just a little cut in your finger, what do you put on it to avoid infection? The brown liquid that stings?
P: Some of the things you used to keep in your medicine cabinet that has a skull and crossbones on the label. A small bottle of ___.

(4.) quinine

B: It used to be given sometimes as a tonic for malaria.
H: Pills you take for fever.
L: White bitter powder in capsules that they used to take for a cold.
M: [For more sophisticated people] What's the tonic in a gin and tonic?

5. He) died /neutral and veiled terms/ *passed away, *left us, *passed on, *departed this life, *passed

   L: If a man was shot and didn't recover, you say that he ___. Any veiled way of saying it to spare people's feelings?
   M: The doctor did everything he could, but he ___. She's been living all alone ever since her husband ___. Any other terms?

6. died /crude terms/ *passed out, *pegged out, *kicked the bucket

   L: Any crude humorous way of saying that [i.e., saying he died]?
   M: I'm glad that old skinflint finally ___.

7. I don't know what) he died of *with, *from /formal and jocular terms; be sure to get at least one died + preposition (with or without object)/

   L: I don't know what he died ___.
   M: He's been dead a week, and nobody's yet figured out what he ___.

8. cemetery /investigate distinctions between public and private areas, among sizes of areas, and between older and more recent usage/ *graveyard, *burying ground, *churchyard, *burying yard, *burying plot, *potter(s) field

   L: Place where people are buried.
   M: They laid him away in the ___. If it's small and out in the country, you'd call it a ___. If it's very small and on the farm, you'd call it a ___. Other names? As around the church?

79

1. casket *coffin, *pinto /the portable box, not the vault in which it is placed/

   B: The box that people are buried in.
   M: What they'd put the body in before they buried it? Other names? Any names any other group uses [e.g., Gullah: pinto]?
   P: Were the old-time ones, made of wood, wide at the shoulders and tapered narrow at the ankles, called something else?

2. funeral *a burying

   M: He was an important man; everybody turned out for his ___.
   P: What is the ceremony at the cemetery called?

3. They are in) mourning *taking on

   L: If the people are dressed in black you say they are in ___.
   M: [After eliciting mourning] Anything else when people are really worked up over a death in the family? If the women lost control of themselves, you'd say they were ___.

4. pretty well /in response to how are you?/ *pretty good, *common, *tol(er)able, *middlin'

B: If somebody meets you on the street and says, "Well, how are you today?," if you are feeling just about average, you'd say, "Oh, I'm ___."
M: Somebody asks you on an average day, "How're you feeling?" You'd say, "___."

5. Don't worry!

L: If someone's troubled, you might say, "Oh, it will come out all right, ____."
M: The children are out late, and your wife's getting a bit excited. You say, "They'll be home all right, just don't ___."

6. rheumatism *rheumatiz, *rheumatics, *arthritis

L: The disease of the joints is called ___.
M: You're getting old, and your joints are stiff and aching. You say you've got a touch of ___.

7. diphtheria

B: A very severe sore throat with blisters on the inside of the throat.
H: Disease of the throat that children used to have
L: The disease where children choke in the night. Dip___.
M: A disease that you hardly ever hear of now, because they give shots for it, but it used to kill lots of children. They choked to death.
P: Around World War I and thereafter they used to give people the Shick Test to see if they needed shots for ___.

8. jaundice *yellow jaundice, *janders, *yellow janders

H: Disease that makes you yellow.
L: Disease where the skin turns yellow.
M: When your skin and eyeballs turn yellow, you're getting ___.

80

1. appendicitis *cramp colic, *locked bowels, *inflammation of the bowels

L: When you have your appendix taken out, you say you have had an attack of ___.
M: You have a pain down here [point to the lower right side] and you have to have an operation. It's ___. Do you remember what people called it before they knew it was appendicitis and when people usually died of it?

2. vomit /neutral terms/ *purge, *throw up, *up-swallow, *be ill

L: If he should eat something that didn't agree with him, if it wouldn't stay down, you say he had to ___.
M: When you eat and drink things that don't agree with you and they come up, you say you ___.

3. vomit /crude and jocular terms/ *puke, *skin a goat, *vomick, *heave(up), *cack, *spew, *cascade, *barf, *blow lunch

M: If somebody's pretty bad this way, you might say he was leaning over the fence (or something) and ___.
P: [After eliciting both vomit and throw up] Which is the crude term, or which is more polite?

4. He is sick) at his stomach *to, *in, *on, *of, *the /get both the preposition and the determiner/

H: If a person vomited, he was sick ___.
L: You say he is sick where?
M: At a party, it's pretty warm, etc., you say, "I better get some fresh air. I'm beginning to feel a little sick ___."

(5.) She came over) to tell (me the news *for tell, *for to tell /record other instances of for + to + verb/

M: She'd hardly got the news, when she came right over ___.

81

(1.) I shall be (disappointed, if he doesn't come *I will be /observe in conversation/

B: If you invite somebody to come and see you this evening and you want to tell them you'll be disappointed if he doesn't come, you say, "Now if you don't come, I ___."
L: If you are going to be disappointed if he won't come, you say, "I ___ be disappointed if he ___.
M: If he doesn't come, I ___ disappointed.

(2.) We shall be (glad to see you *we will be; *proud /investigate use of proud for glad/

L: If you both are going to be glad to see me, you say, we ___ be glad to see you.
M: Anytime you can come over, we ___ to see you.
P: [At the end of the item] Could you use the word proud in that sense? Does that mean just about the same thing as glad? How do the meanings of the words differ?

(3.) I'll) go and spank (you *take and spank /record other go and + verb and take and + verb combinations/

M: If you do that again, I'll ___ you. (Said to a child who is misbehaving.)
P: If you do that again, I'm going to have to ___. (Said to a child who is misbehaving.)

4. He is) courting her *sparking, *going with, *walking out with, *sitting up with, *sitting up to, *a-talking to, *keeping company with, *spark it with, *paying 'em address, *rushing, *heavy dating, *sweet on, *going steady with

B: [Item 97.5 asked here first, then,] if he is very much interested in her and spends a good deal of his time with her so that the neighbors think his intentions are serious what do they say he is doing?
H: If a boy is beginning to pay serious attention to a girl, he is ___. Other terms?
L: What is the older word when a fellow is interested in a girl. You say he is doing what?
M: If a boy keeps going over to the same girl's house, you say he's ___. Other terms? Degrees of seriousness?

5. her boy friend /normal and jocular terms/ *beau, *fellow, *steady

B: What do they call him: He is her ___.
H: In that case he is her ___. Other terms?
L: What does she call him? Her ___.
M: A girl's putting on her best dress, etc.; her little brother says, "She's fixing up for her ___." Other names?

6. his girl friend /normal and jocular/ *steady, *thrill, *doney, *docksey, *jewlarky

B: And she is his ___.
H: She is his ___. Other terms?
L: What do they call her? His ___.
M: He's going to see his ___. Other names? Older people would say?

(7.) kissing, *bussing, *smootching, *necking, *spooning

M: A boy comes home with lipstick on his collar, his little brother says, "You've been ___." Other words? Any old-fashioned terms?

1. She turned him down /serious and jocular terms/ *she gave him the sack, *the gate, *the axe, *the mitten; *she threw him over, *jilted him, *kicked him, *turned him off, *throwed him down, *broke off (with him)

   B: If he asks her to marry him and she doesn't want him, what do you say she did to him?
   H: If she would not have him, she ___.
   L: If he asked her to marry him and she didn't, you say she did what?
   M: When a girl stops letting the boy come over to see her, you say she ___. He asked her to marry him, but she ___. They were engaged, and all of a sudden she ___. [Note three different situations here] Also, a man to a woman?

2. married *hitched, *spliced, *jumped the broomstick

   M: They're just ___. [After married is elicited] Any humorous ways of saying that?
   P: But if she didn't turn him down, they went ahead and got ___.

(3.) bestman *waiter, *groomsman

   M: At a wedding the man who stand up with the groom is the ___. Other names? Old-fashioned ones?

(4.) bridesmaid *waiter

   M: And the girl that stands up with the bride is the ___.

5. shivaree /noisy, burleque serenade after a wedding; describe; must one of the couple have been married before? Is it ever used to signify community displeasure?/ *serenade, *belling, *dish-panning, *skimmelton, *callathump, *reception [not to be confused with the civilized dancing at formal, semiformal, and informal wedding parties today], *horning, *bull-banding, *drumming, *salute

   L: Noisy burlesque band-playing that comes round to the house after a wedding.
   M: After a wedding the boys in the neighborhood might gather around the couple's home and make all kinds of noise, you call it a ___. Is it done to friends? Only when one has been married before? Is is ever done when somebody has upset the community by taking an unpopular political stand?
   P: Did they ever fire rifles and pistols or explode dynamite and then do some rough things to the bride and groom after the wedding? What was that called? Tell me about it? How long ago did they quit doing that sort of thing?

(6.) I was) up in Knoxville /use verb of rest, not of motion; situations of location, not direction; do the locations up, down, and over refer to elevation? terrain? proximity?/ *up to, *down in, *over in, *down to, *over to

M: I saw him ___ Atlanta.
P: [After M's question, try a few other communities in the high country, the valleys, over hills and mountains, five or ten miles away against forty or fifty miles away.]

(7.) He lives) up at (the Browns /use verbs of rest, not of motion; situations of location, not direction; do the locations up, down, and over refer to elevation? terrain? proximity?/ *at, *down at, *over at, *to, *up to, *down to, *over to

M: He lives ___ the Browns.
P: Now say the Browns lived a few houses away? A half mile? The other side of the mountain? In the valley? Ten or twenty miles away? Beyond that?

8. the whole crowd /depreciative terms/ *bilin', *kittle and bilin', *gang, *mob, *outlay, *layout, *bunch

M: [Be sure to get the pronunciation whole] There was trouble at the party, and the police came and arrested the ____ [i.e., everybody] Any humorous or disapproving terms?
P: They didn't just arrest one or two of them, they arrested the ___ group. What else might you say instead of group? Especially if you were being lighthearted or disapproving about them and their situation.

83

1. a dance *ball, *hoe-down, *a German, *a breakdown, *frolick, *shindig, *hop, *house dance, *kitchen dance, *fais-de-do

L: What do young people like to go out to in the evening, where they move around on the floor?
M: Various kinds? Any names for one you'd have at home?

(2.) School) lets out (at four o'clock *turns out, *is over, *gets out, *leaves out, *closes

B: If children get out of school at four o'clock, you say at four o'clock school does what?
L: The children say, "School ___ ___ at four o'clock."
M: Four o'clock is the time when school ___.

(3.) When does school) start? /after vacation/ *begin, *commence, *take up, *take in

L: After vacation they say, "When does school ___ again?"
M: The day after Labor Day is when school ___.

4. He) skipped class *played hookey, *bolted, *hooked Jack, *laid out, *bagged school

   M: A boy left home to go to school and didn't show; he ___. What about college?

5. education *learning, *book learning

   L: You go to school to get an ___.
   M: It's the kind of school where almost anyone can get a good ___.
   P: You go to school in order to get ___.

6. college

   L: After high school you go [on] to ___.

7. first grade *first class, *primary, *first reader

   M: After kindergarten you go into the ___. Older terms?

8. desk; desks

   M: Somebody left a note on my ___. The classroom has new ___.
   P: Years ago children sat on benches at school; now they sit at ___. Each child has his own ___.

84

1. library

   L: A building especially for books is called a ___.
   M: You get a book from the ___.
   P: If you wanted to check out a book in town, you'd go to the ___.

2. post office

   L: You mail a package at the ___.

3. hotel

   L: You stay overnight in a strange town at a ___.

4. theater *opera house, *show

   L: You see a play at the ___.
   M: The place where you see a play or movie? Older names for it?

5. hospital

   L: You had an operation in the ___.
   M: Where you go for an operation?

6. nurse

L: And you are taken care of by a ___.
M: The woman who looks after you in the hospital?

(7.) railroad station /contrast with bus station; try for four-syllable items/ *depot, *railway station

L: You catch a train at the ___.
P: [If depot is the response] You might call it the rail___ ____.

85

(1.) public square *common, *green, *place, *plaza, *town square /get names of particular greens, parks, etc./

L: An open place in the city where the green grass and trees grow.
M: The place in the center of town around the courthouse. [Then get names of other greens and parks]

2. kitty-cornered /of walking across intersection or lot/ *catter-cornered, *catty-wampus, *zig-zag, *caper-cornered, *bias-ways, *antigodlin, *anti-goglin, *antisigoglin

B: Where two streets cross if a man starts out from one corner and walks to the opposite corner, you say he walks how? If he cuts across a field instead of following the road, how do you say he walked? If a table is set in the corner of a room so that there is an open space behind it in the angle of the walls, you say the table is set how?
L: [After the other questions have been raised] Would you say kitty-cornered or katty-cornered?
M: If there's a vacant lot at the corner and you go across it instead of around it on the sidewalk, you're walking ___? If you do that at a street intersection?

3. on the) street car *trolley, *trolley car, *surface car, *tram car, *tram, *electric car

B: Vehicles that [used to] run on tracks with a wire overhead.
H: Things they used in cities to go around with before they had buses.
L: Things that [used to] go by on rails in the city streets.
P: Now they have buses in Bristol [or wherever], but not too long ago they had ___.

4. I) want to get off (at the next corner *want off

M: You tell the bus driver, "The next corner is where I want ___." The cat goes over to the door and meows; you say, "The cat ___."

5. county seat *county capital, *shire town, *county site, *county town, *parish seat /investigate this item in terms of the location of the interview/

M: Here in [DeKalb, or wherever] County [or Parish], [Decatur, or whatever] is the ___.

6. the Federal) government

L: Who pays the postmaster? The Federal ___.
M: If you're an F.B.I. agent, you're working for the ___.

7. law and order *law-r and order

B: The police in a town are supposed to maintain what? [If only law] You sometimes put the word together with the word order. How do you say that?
M: A political candidate who wants the police to get tougher says he's for ___.

8. Civil War *the Rebellion, *War between the States, *War of the States, *Confederate War, *Yankee War, *War of Secession

B: The fight between the northern and the southern states in 1861.
L: The war between the north and the south was called the ___.
M: The war in 1861-65 we call the ___. Other names? Older people call it?

(9.) The murderer was) hanged *hung; he) hanged (himself *hung

M: Before they had the electric chair, murderers were ___; the man went out and ___ himself.

86

1. New York State; Maryland

M: Albany is the capital of ___; Annapolis is the capital of ___.
P: The biggest city of this country is in ___; Baltimore is in ___.

2. Virginia; North Carolina

M: Richmond is the capital of ___; Raleigh is the capital of ___.
P: [For these and others, especially with folk informants] Name some Southern states. What's just north, etc., of here?

3. South Carolina; Georgia

M: Columbia is the capital of ___; Sherman marched across ___.
P: Two Southern states where they grow a lot of peaches.

4. Florida; Alabama

M: Tallahassee is the capital of ___; George Wallace is governor of ___.
P: Where they grow a lot of oranges in the South. Other states on the Gulf.

5. Louisiana; Kentucky

M: Baton Rouge is the capital of ___; the Blue Grass State is ___.

6. Tennessee; Missouri

M: The Volunteer State is ___; the "Show Me" State is ___.

7. Arkansas; Mississippi

M: Little Rock is the capital of ___; Jackson is the capital of ___.
P: Right across the river from Tennessee is ___; the state named after the river?

8. Texas; Oklahoma

M: The Lone Star State is ___; Tulsa is in ___.

9. Massachusetts; New England States

M: Boston is in ___; the states from Maine to Connecticut are the ___.

87

1. Baltimore; Washington, D.C.; St. Louis

M: The biggest city in Maryland is ___; the capital of the USA is ___; the biggest city in Missouri, with a famous "blues" named for it, is ___.

2. Charleston; Birmingham; Chicago

M: The old historical seaport in South Carolina; the big steel-making town in Alabama; the big city in Illinois where Al Capone once ran the rackets.

3. Montgomery; Mobile

M: The capital of Alabama is ___.
P: What are some big cities in Alabama. The one on the Gulf is ___.

4. Ashville; Knoxville; Chattanooga

M: The resort city in the western part of North Carolina; the biggest city in East Tennessee; the one that will soon be bigger.
P: The city up in the mountains in North Carolina is ___. What are the four biggest cities in Tennessee?

5. Memphis; Nashville

M: The big city in West Tennessee where the blues started, where Beale Street is, and where Martin Luther King was killed; the capital of Tennessee is ___.

6. Atlanta; Savannah

M: The capital and largest city in Georgia is; the biggest seaport in Georgia.

7. Macon; Columbus

M: The biggest city in southern Georgia; Fort Benning is near what town in Georgia?
P: The city right in the middle of Georgia; the town across the river from Phenix City, Alabama.

8. New Orleans; Baton Rouge

M: The biggest city in Louisiana, known for Mardi Gras; the capital of Louisiana.
P: A couple of big cities in Lousiana besides Shreveport and Monroe? [As a last resort] Bat-___.

9. Cincinnati; Louisville; Ireland; France; Russia

M: The biggest city in southern Ohio, where the Reds and the Bengals play their home games; the biggest city in Kentucky, known for the Derby.
P: The biggest cities on the Ohio River are ___ and ___.

88

1. ten) miles /a distance from here to there/ *mile

M: From (this town) to (that town) is about ___.
P: How far is it from here to the next town?

(2.) I don't know) if (I want to *as, *whether /observe in conversation/

B: If somebody asks you to go with him and you are not sure you want to, you'd say, "I don't know ____."

M: Somebody asks you to do something; you say, "I don't know ___ I can do it or not."

(3.) It seems) as though (he'll never pull through *like, *as if /observe in conversation/

B: If you have a very sick friend and he is not likely to get any better, if somebody asks you how he is coming along, you'd say, "Well, it seems ___."
M: It seems to me ___ he won't pull through.

(4.) I won't go) unless (he goes too *without, *douten, *less, *'lessen

H: If you were asked to go somewhere without your wife, you say, "I won't go ___."
M: If you want somebody to go with you, you say, "I won't go ___ he goes."

5. instead of (helping me

H: If your daughter did not help you with the dishes, you'd say, "She went off playing ___ helping me."
M: When you could have used help, you might ask afterwards, "Why did you sit around ___ helping me?"

6. I like him) because (he's so funny *'count of, *becuz, *cuz

H: A man is funny and you like him; you say, "I like him ___."
M: Why do you like him? I like him ___.

89

1. Baptist

M: Names of churches; largest Protestant denomination in the South?

2. They) joined (the) church

L: If two people became members, you'd say, "They ___."
M: When somebody becomes a member, you say he ___. Sunday morning we'll go to ___.

3. God /as pronounced in church/ *master /observe profane pronunciation of God in conversation, but inquire only in appropriate situations/

L: In church you pray to ___.
M: In church you worship ___. When swearing do you pronounce it the same way? [Profanity is hard to elicit, but you might try]

4. sermon

L: The preacher preaches a ___.
M: The preacher delivered a fine ___.

5. music

B: One man might say, "I go to church to hear the sermon," and another one might say, "I don't care anything about the sermon, I go to hear the ___."
M: The choir and the organist provided good ___.

6. beautiful

H: Oh, that music is ___.
M: The service was ___; the sunset was ___.
P: Oh, what a (what kind of) morning, etc. "___ Dreamer, waken to me."

(7.) Church will be over) by the time (I get there *agin

M: I though I had time, but I got caught in traffic and the post office was closed _____.
P: If you had to change a flat tire on the way to church one Sunday morning, you might say, "Church will be over _____."

90

1. devil /also veiled and jocular terms/ *the bad man, *the booger man, *the black man, *old Harry

L: The enemy and opposite of God is called the ___.
M: What did people sometimes tell children would come and get them if they didn't behave? Any other names? Is that the same old fellow with horns, hoofs, tail, and a pitchfork? [boogerman, etc., are sometimes not identified with the devil] Any nicknames for the devil? You might say, "You're mean as the old ___."

2. spooks *ghosts, *spirits, *haunts, *haints, *hants, *fraids, *poky spots, *boogers, *Plateye, *rawhead-and-bloody-bones, *the clavers

B: [See 90.3]
L: What do people think they see at night to frighten them, all in white?
M: What is it people sometimes think they see around a graveyard? Any other names? Any names you remember older people using? [Observe /haents ∿ hents/] She was as ugly as a ___.

3. a haunted house

B: If there is a lonely house off on a dark road and people think they hear strange noises come from it at night, they might say, "That's a ___." What do they call the things that make the noise?
L: The house where they live is called ___.
M: If somebody died mysteriously in a house and people were afraid to live there, what kind of house would you call it?

4. It's) rather (cold *kind of, *sort of, *middling /observe in conversation/

M: Better put a sweater on; it's getting ___ chilly.

(5.) I'd rather not go

M: I'll go if you insist, but I'd ___.
P: If you have a choice, you might say, "I'd ___ do this than that."

(6.) I'm mighty glad to see you! /record intonation; record instances of (right) proud in other contexts/ *awfully, *very, *(right) proud

M: What do you say to a friend you haven't seen for some time? How do you express your feeling about seeing him?

7. He owns a) right smart (of land *a good deal /investigate right smart/

M: He owns five hundred acres. How much land would that be? That's a ____ of land. [Look out for right smart in various contexts; it is hard to elicit directly, but might be got by forcing in final round-up]
P: [At the end of the item] You used (or didn't use) the expression right smart there. Do you use that pretty much? Can you give me some examples of how you use that? Would you say a right smart of pain? of money? of trouble? of good luck/ of bad luck? It rained right smart? [Observe grammatical function and usage with count and mass nouns]

91

(1.) certainly! /strong affirmation; get all affirmative responses used in conversation; record intonation and stress, both normal and emphatic/ *sure! *you bet! *of course! *indeed! *surely! *I mean!

L: If you want to say something stronger, more enthusiastic, than yes, you say ___.
M: If you want to express agreement stronger and more enthusiastically than with just yes, what would you say? [You might start by reminding the informant of the ways he's been saying it]

(2.) I sure can /sure followed by a consonant/

M: Can you really do that? [Name a chore] Do you think you can do that? I ____.

(3.) habitual forms of "yes" /these invariably occur in conversation/

(4.) yes, sir; yes, mam /do you habitually say "yes, sir" and "yes, mam" or simply "yes"?/

M: [For many informants, raising still produces these in conversation; for others:] If you wanted to be very polite to somebody, would you say just "yes"? Who'd you say "yes, sir" and "yes, mam" to? Do you remember older people doing anything particular?

(5.) well! /these expressions of hesitation occur invariably in conversation/

(6.) He) really (dreaded the place /observe in conversation/ *purely, *pinely, *pointedly, *plumb

M: If somebody intensely disliked to go somewhere, you'd say, "He ___ dreaded (or, hated) the place."

(7.) real cold; real good /intensive real; observe in conversation/

P: It wasn't just a little cold this morning; it was ___ cold. If your mother cooked something you liked, you might tell her it's good, or, to emphasize it, you might say, "Ma, that's ___ good."

92

(1.) damn (it)! /observe in conversation/

M: [My general practice has been to catch in conversation or leave it lay. But you might ask informant what he'd say if he hit his finger with a hammer, knocked the turkey off the plate, or if the dog grabbed the pie, etc.]

(2.) land's sakes! /exclamations of surprise; observe in conversation/

M: [If necessary, ask] what might you exclaim when excited?

(3.) shucks /exclamations of impatience; observe in conversation/

M: [If necessary, ask] what might you say when you're a little peeved at yourself for doing something stupid?

4. the idea!

M: When something shocking is reported, perhaps attributed to you, you might show a kind of polite resentment by saying, "Why the ___!" [A little nudging is often necessary here; suggest when needed]

5. How are you? /to an intimate friend; record intonation/

   L: When you meet someone what do you say by way of greeting, asking about their health?
   M: When a friend says "Good morning," what might you ask him in return?

6. How do you do? /to a stranger; record intonation/

   M: When you are introduced to a stranger. What might you say? What might you ask him?

93

1. Come <u>again</u>! /to a visitor/ *you-all) come back, (hear)!

   L: If you have enjoyed their visit you say, "Come ___."
   M: When somebody's leaving after a visit you might tell them "____." Or, "I hope you'll ____."

2. <u>Merry</u> Christmas /among adults? among children? servants to employers? by Negroes?/ *Christmas gift! *Christmas give! *Christmas box!

   H: What do you say when you meet someone on Christmas?
   L: What do you say on the 25th of December when you first get when you meet someone?
   M: How'd you greet somebody about December 25th? Any other greetings you know of?

3. Happy <u>New Year</u>! *New Year's gift!

   L: What do you say on the first of January?
   M: What might you say about January 1? Any other expressions? [If you've succeeded in getting <u>Christmas gift</u>, remind informant of that and ask if there is anything similar on New Year's Day.]

(4.) I'm much) <u>obliged</u> *obleeged

   M: Anything you might say by way of appreciation besides <u>thank you</u>?
   P: You might say, "I'm much ___."

1. I think (I'll have time *guess, *suppose, *reckon, *allow, *calculate, *figure

   L: If you are not sure whether you will have time or not, you say, "I ___ I'll have time."
   M: [You get a pretty good repertoire in normal conversation; I almost never ask for it; when needed, follow L.]

2. I had to do some shopping *trading

   M: I have to go downtown to do some ___.

3. He) wrapped it up *wrop

   M: You made a purchase; the storekeeper took a piece of paper and ___.
   P: [Add hand gesture]

4. I) unwrapped (it *onwrapped

   M: When I got home with the package I ___.
   P: [Add gesture]

5. He had to sell it) at a loss *below cost

   H: If you sell for less than you paid, you say, "I had to sell it ___.
   L: If the store has to sell things at less than they paid for them, you say they are selling at a ___.
   M: If the storekeeper sold something for $2 he'd paid $2.50 for, he'd be selling it ___.

6. It) costs (too much

   M: You admire something but don't have enough money to buy it; you say, "I like it, but it ___."
   P: Sure, that's a nice tractor, but I can't buy it because it ___ too much.

7. On the first of the month, the bill is) due

   L: Time to pay the bill, you say, "The bill is ___."

8. Pay your) dues

   L: If you belong to a club, you have to pay the ___.
   M: To stay in good standing in your club/lodge, you have to pay your ___.

1. borrow

   L: If you haven't any money, you go to a friend and try to ___.
   M: If you need to cut the grass and don't have a lawnmower, you go over to a neighbor and (ask to) ___. What about money? [Look for Yankee use immortalized by Calvin Coolidge]

2. Money is) scarce (nowadays *hard come by, *tight /anymore for nowadays?/

   M: When the banker is (gently) refusing a loan, he says, "Money is ___." Hunting's not what it used to be; the game's getting ___.
   P: In the Thirties money was ___. [As a last resort] Those things are about as ___ as hens' teeth.

3. /principal parts of dive/

   M: He ran down the springboard and ___ in. [If you get jumped, follow up by explaining he went in head first]
   P: Lots of boys ___ off that high board; nine or ten ___ off it already this afternoon.

4. To dive in the water and land on your stomach *belly flop, *belly bust, *belly bunt

   M: When you dive in and hit the water flat, you call that a ___.

5. somersault *somerset *tumbleset

   B: If a boy puts his head on the ground and kicks up his feet and goes over, you say he turns a ___.
   H: When a child stands on his head and rolls over and over, he turned a ___.
   L: When you turn head over heels, you call that turning a ___.
   M: The children were out on the grass turning ___. [Make appropriate gesture if necessary]

6. /principal parts of swim/

   M: He wanted to get across the river; so he (dived) in and ___.
   P: The children like to ___ in the big creek; I have ___ there myself.

7. lagniappe /bonus or gift when a bill is paid/ *brawtus, *pilon

   M: When you buy something or pay your bill, some storekeepers will give you a little present and say it's for ___.

1. /principal parts of drown/

   M: Someone who got caught in a whirlpool and didn't get out, you'd say he (was) got ___.
   P: After he went down for the third time, you say he ___. I wasn't there; I didn't see him ___.

2. The baby) crawls (on the floor *creeps

   M: What does a baby do before it's able to walk?

3. /principal parts of climb/

   M: You saw something up a tree. You wanted to take a closer look at it, so you went over to the tree and ___.
   P: That would be a hard mountain to ___. My neighbor ___ it last year, but I never have ___ a mountain in my life.

4. crouch *scrooch down, *scruntch down, *hunker down, *squat down

   B: If a man wants to hide behind a low hedge, he's got to ___.
   H: [Pantomime]
   L: If children are playing a game where they want to creep up on someone without being seen, they suddenly get down right where they are standing, just bending their knees without moving their feet; you call that to ___.
   M: Playing hide-and-seek, you find yourself near a stump, so you ___. [Or, suggest in a corner] When somebody's down on his ___ as in shooting marbles, you'd say he's ___. [If necessary, suggest hunker down]
   P: If a child wanted to trick you, he might hide behind a couch. He'd go back there and ___ down. When he jumped up, he might say ___. [I investigate boo against peep-eye here with the deletion of page 105.]

5. She) kneeled (down *knelt

   B: She walked up to the alter and she ___.
   L: In praying, you say she ___ down in prayed.
   M: A little child was saying his prayers; he went over beside his bed and ___.

6. I'm going to) lie down *lay down

   L: If you are tired, you say, "I am going to ___ down in bed."
   M: I'm feeling tired; I'll go over to the couch and ___.

1. He) lay in bed (all day *laid-a-bed

   M: All morning he ___.
   P: He was really sick; he couldn't even sit up; he just ___ bed all day.

2. /principal parts of dream/

   M: Talking about something you saw in your sleep, "This is what I ___."
   P: Often when I go to sleep, I ___, but I can't always remember what I've ___."

3. I woke up (early *wakened, *waked up, *roused, *got awake

   B: You say, "I dremt so and so and all of a sudden I ___."
   M: I dreamed I was falling, but just as I was about to hit the ground I ___."

4. stamp (the floor *stomp

   B: If you bring your foot down heavy on the floor like this, you say you do what?
   M: Don't ___so. [Make gesture]

5. May I) take you home /on foot or in a vehicle? man or woman?/ *see you home, *carry you home

   B: [Asked in connection with 81.4] If a man meets a girl at a dance and he wants to go home with her, he says to her, "May I ___?"
   H: If a boy sees a girl at church and wants to go home with her, he says, "May I ___?"
   L: After a party, you say to a girl, "Can I ___ you home?" If it is in a buggy, you ask ___.
   M: When you see a friend leaving a party alone, you might ask, "Can I ___?" Would it make any difference in what you said whether you were walking or driving? How about whether you were speaking to a man or a woman? (or being spoken to?) [Watch for conversational instances of carry meaning to lead , escort, etc.]

6. pull

   M: To get a boat up on land, you tie a rope to the bow and ___.

7. push

   M: When your car was stuck in the mud or snow, you'd ask somebody to get his car behind you and give you a ___.

1. I lugged (a bag of meal, etc. *packed, *toted, *hiked, *sacked

   B: If you carried a very heavy suitcase a long distance, instead of saying "I carried it," you'd say, "I ___."
   M: You had a sack of groceries and didn't have your car; so you picked it up and ___. Anything else you might say? Suppose it was all you could do to handle? [Observe conversational use]

2. Don't you touch it!

   B: If some children come into the house and start playing with the things on the table and you are afraid they are going to break something, you'd say to them "Don't you ___."
   M: A child is reaching toward a piece of fine glass you don't want him to have, you'll tell him ___.
   P: You might tell a child, "That stove is very hot so ___."

3. Go bring (me a knife *fetch, *get, *find

   H: If you needed a hammer, you'd say to me ___.
   L: If you want a knife and send someone for it, you say, "Go ___ the knife."

4. goal /in children's games; in hockey; in basketball or football/ *gool, *base, *home, *den

   H: Playing tag, what is the tree against which children can hold their hands and be safe?
   L: In playing hide and seek, the children have to run in free and touch the ___.
   M: In a tag game, you have to run and get back to your ___. The thing standing at the end of a football field is the ___. [For the pronunciation of goal]
   P: What kinds of outdoor games did you play? What did you call the hiding games? [For hide-and-seek against hoopy-hie] What did you call the place you ran for?

5. /principal parts of catch/

   M: You throw a ball and ask somebody to ___. I threw the ball and he ____. I have been fishing for trout, but I haven't ____.

99

1. I'll wait) for you *on you

   M: Let's meet in town; if I get there first, I'll ___.
   P: There's no need to hurry; I'll wait ___.

2. Give me another chance!

   B: [After 99.4] After you have discharged him, he might come back to you and ask you to take him on again; he says, "Just give me ___."
   M: A child wanting to get out of a spanking (or a student who thought the test he failed wasn't fair) might say, ___.
   P: If you're about to punish a child, he might say to you, "Please ___ me another ___."

3. in good humor *in a glee, *feeling frisky

   B: If a man is in a very good mood, you say, "He is in a very good ___." Or, if a man can always see the point of a joke, you say, "He's got a very good sense of ___."
   M: Somebody's got a smile on his face and a pleasant word for everybody, you say, "he seems to be in a good ___."

4. I want to) get rid of (him *get shut of, *get shet of

   B: If you have a hired man who keeps on loafing all the time, you might decide to discharge him, and you'd say to a friend of yours, "I think I'm going to get ___."
   M: There's that pesky salesman; wait till I ___. We've got termites, but I'm sure the exterminating company will ___.

100

(1.) He acted as if (he knew it all *he made out like

   M: He didn't know what was going on, but he ___ he knew it all.

(2.) Who) swiped (my pencils? *filched, *cooned, *thiefed, *stoled, *snitched, *snuk

   L: If someone stole your pencil, what is a slang word you might use? You say, "Who ___ my pencil."
   M: A boy left his best pencil on his desk and came back and didn't find it. He'd say, "I bet somebody ___." Other words? If something happened to be more important or more expensive?

(3.) I remember (seeing him *remember of, *mind me /observe in conversation/

P: I had forgotten about that, but now I ___.

4. I don't remember *disremember, *can't call, *disrecollect /observe in conversation/

P: And you might say to me, "Well, you must have a better memory than I do because I sure ____."

5. /principal parts of write/

L: You say, "I have just ___ him a letter."
P: [With gesture] Yesterday he ___ me a letter, and tomorrow I'll ___ one to him.

6. I expect an) answer

L: And I expect an ___.
M: It's time I was getting an ___.

7. Will you) address (the letter? *back

M: You put the letter in the envelope and then you take your pen and ___. Anything else you might say? Anything older people used to say?

8. What's his) address?

M: I want to write (to some one); do you know his ___?
P: I know he lives in Bristol, but I don't know his ___.

101

1. Who) taught (you that? *teached, *learned, *larnt

B: If a little boy has learned something new, for instance if he has learned to whistle, and you want to know where he learned that, you ask him, "Who ___?"
L: If someone can do something very well and you would like to learn how to do it too, you ask, "Who ___ you how to do that?"
M: A child has learned something surprising [good or bad]; parent asks, "Who was it ___?"

(2.) We) intend (to go soon *mean, *are projectin', *are letting on going, *aim, *are fixing

M: When are you going to Miami? Right now we're ___ next Wednesday.
P: Someone asks you if you've put up that new fence yet; you say, "No, but I ____ pretty soon."

3. children's nicknames for one who tattles *tattle-tale, *tongue tattler, *tattle-box

B: If a little boy has done something naughty and a little girl saw him do it, the boy might say, "Now don't you go to mother and ___."
L: If two people have a secret and they don't want anyone to know, one says to the other, "You won't ___ on me, will you?" What is a children's nickname for one who does tell?
M: What do children call somebody who's always running and telling on the others? Any difference between younger and older children?
P: [At the end of the item] Would you ever use that word tattle or tattle-tale when talking about adults. [Does tattle mean the same thing to the informant as gossip?]

4. pick flowers *pull, *gather, *pluck [for pick],*pretties [for flowers]

B: If you want a bouquet for the dinner table you go out in the garden and ___.
M: If you want to brighten up the room for a party and you have a lot of things growing in your garden, you'd go out and ___. Other terms?

5. a toy *a pretty, *a play-pretty, *a play-toy

M: Something a child might play with? Different names for something you'd buy and something you'd make at home?
P: [At the end of the item] You used (or didn't use) the word play-pretty. Is that word used quite a bit? What might it include? Anything that might be called a toy? A toy gun? [This is to investigate the range of the term, not to suggest a usual signification.]

(6.) I knew it! *I just knowed it! /observe in conversation/

P: If something happened that you expected, predicted, or were afraid was going to happen, for example, a child hurting himself while doing something dangerous, you might say "____!" Especially after someone comes in and tells you it has happened.

/observe the verbs in conversation/

1. /principal parts of give/

M: That's the book you ___ me.
P: I'll ___ it back when I've finished it because you have ___ me so many other good books to read.

2. /principal parts of begin/ *commence

M: I'm glad I carried my umbrella; we hadn't gone half a block when it ___. [Pick up started and commenced if you can]

P: [After started or commenced] A word that starts with b that means the same thing: you might ask, "What time does the show ___?" The usher might tell you, "It must've ___ ten or fifteen minutes ago."

3. /principal parts of run/

M: Why are you out of breath? I was feeling so happy I ___ all the way home.
P: Horses gallop, but people ___. They have ___ a mile every day this week.

4. /principal parts of come/

P: If you didn't know where a man was born, you might ask, "Where does he ___ from?" He ___ in on the train last night. He's ___ to our town every month with his goods.

5. /principal parts of see/

M: I ___ her outside a few minutes ago.
P: I hope to ___ you again soon. We've ___ so little of you this year.

6. The road was all) torn up *tore up

M: You can't get through there; the Highway Department's got their machines in, and the road's all ___.'

7. put it on

M: You give somebody a bracelet and say to her, "Why don't you ___." [Make gesture] Or, it's getting a little chilly; if you have a sweater, you'd better ___.
P: The opposite of take it off is ___.

8. /principal parts of do/

M: My sister ___ that.
P: Can you ___ that? And you say, "Sure, I've ___ that all my life."

103

1. nothing /observe on conversation/

B: If you are sitting with a friend not saying anything and all of a sudden he asks you, "What did you say?" you'd say, "Why, I said ___."
P: I might ask you what's new, and you might shrug your shoulders and shake your head and "___."

2. something /observe in conversation/

B: Then he'd say, "Oh, I though you said ___."
P: Then I might say, "Come, now, there must be ___ new."

3. It's) such a (nice day /observe in conversation/

M: I've never heard of ___ things.

4. always /observe in conversation/

B: If you've lived in town all your life and somebody asked you, "Have you lived here long?" you'd answer, "Why I've ___."
M: My family has ___ lived here.
P: If I asked you how long has that mountain been here, you might say, "As far as I know, it's ___ been here."

5. since

M: I got thrown once, and I've been scared of horses ever ___.
P: How long have you been living here? Ever ___ I got married.

(6.) He did it) on purpose *a-purpose, *for purpose

M: It wasn't an accident; he did it ___.

(7.) affirmation /intonation and stress; observe nasal and glottal forms; grunts/

(8.) negation /intonation and stress; observe nasal and glottal forms; grunts/

(9.) I think so /stress on think or so?/ *guess so, *reckon so /observe in conversation/

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1. /principal parts of ask/

M: I don't know; you'd better ___ him.
P: So you ___ him, and he says, "Why you've ___ me that several times before."

2. /principal parts of fight/

M: Every time they met they ___.
P: Those boys like to ___ [gesture]; they've ___ ever since they were small.

(3.) He stabbed her with a big knife. /investigate names for large knives/

(4.) Then he) drew (out the blade /gesture/

M: [Or] A funny picture's on the blackboard; the teacher asks, "Who ___ that?"

(5.) <u>hoist</u> /to lift something very heavy with a block-and-tackle/

P: If you were going to lift something like a piece of machinery up on a roof, you might use pulley blocks and a rope to ___ it up.

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This list includes the page and line number of each item in the LAGS Work Sheets. Pronunciation items are underlined (an apple), infinitives of verbs investigated for principal parts are crossed (+blow), lexical items are identified with book forms rather than regional expressions (dragon fly instead of snake doctor, snake feeder, mosquito hawk, etc.), and space is indicated for transcribing syntactic peculiarities (deleted copula, etc.) which are not investigated in a general way in the work sheets.

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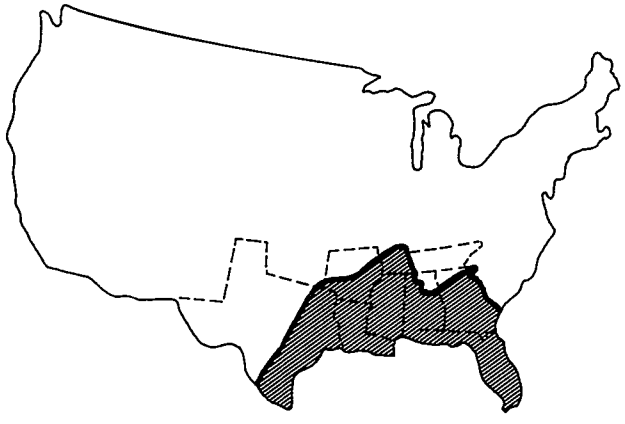
tooth 71.8
torch (makeshift oil lamp) 24.3
torn up ("The road was all ...") 102.6
toted 98.1

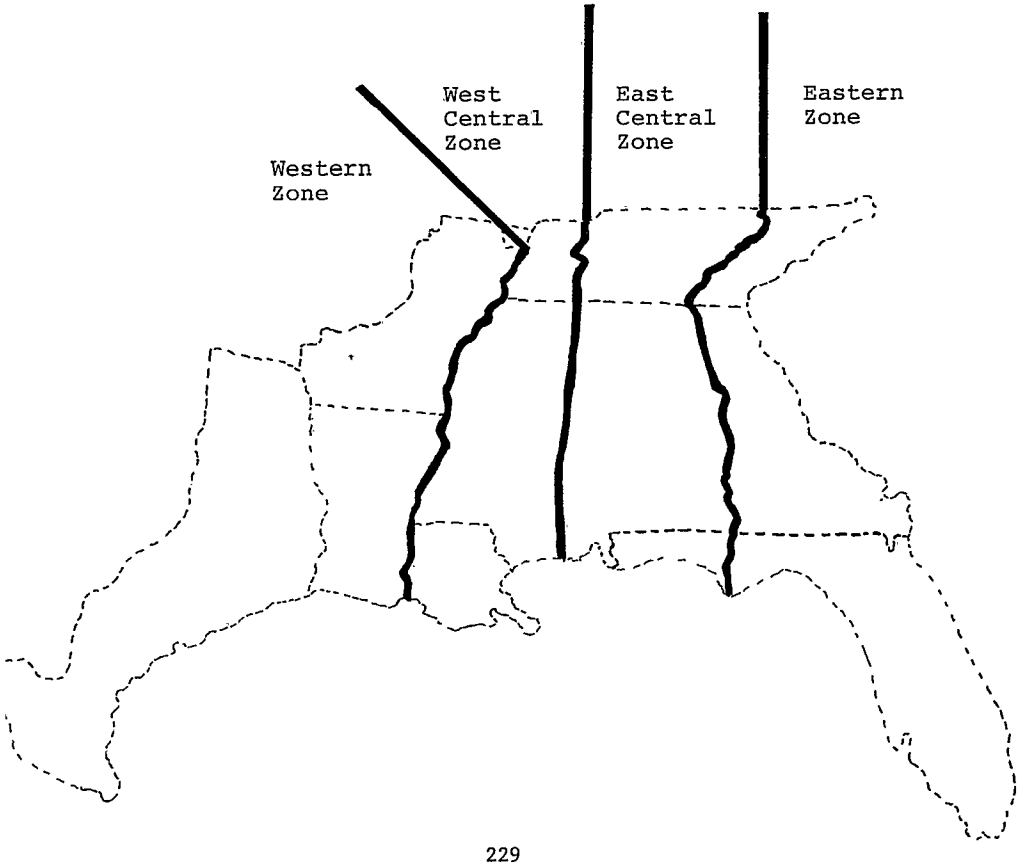
to tell me ("He came over...")	80.5
touchy	75.1
towel	18.6
toy	101.5
tree frog	60.3
trees (local varieties)	61.8
trough	35.8
troughs	35.8
trousers	27.4
tube	24.4
Tuesday	2.1
turned him down (rejected him)	82.1
turn of corn	19.8
turtle, land	60.7
turtle, water	60.6
tusks	35.7
twelve	1.6
twenty	1.8
twenty-seven	1.8
twice	1A.5
two	1.1
umbrella	28.6
Uncle John	68.2
Uncle William	68.2
uneasy	74.2
unless	88.4
unmarked verbs	13.6
unwrapped	94.4
up at the Browns	82.7
up in Knoxville	82.6
used to be	74.4
valley of a roof	11.6
varmints	59.5
vase	17.7
vegetables	50.4
very glad to see you	90.6
vest	27.3
Virginia	86.2
vomit	80.2
vomit (crude terms)	80.3
wake up (intransitive)	76.7
wake up (transitive)	76.8
walnut hull (outer cover)	54.8
walnut shell (inner cover)	54.8
want (to get) off the bus	85.4
wardrobe (storage place)	9.7
warmed over food	50.1
wash dishes	18.1
Washington, D. C.	87.1
washing and ironing	10.6
wash cloth	18.5
wasn't me ("It...")	25.7
wasps	60A.6
was thinking about it ("I...")	13.5
watch (noun)	4.3
water	48.9
water in a blister	77.7
waterfall	31.5
watermelon	56.9
weatherboarding	11.2
Wednesday	2.1
were going to do it ("We...")	25.5
were thinking about it ("We...")	13.5
wharf	31.4
what (all) did they say?	43.8
what did you say?	52.4
what makes him do that?	13.6
wheat bread	44.3
wheelbarrow	23 3

wheel the baby	64.6
whether ("I don't know...")	88.2
whetstone	23.4
whinny (contented sound of a horse)	36.4
whip (noun)	19.4
whipping (noun)	65.5
whisky (cheap, poor quality)	50.8
whisky (various homebrews)	50.8
white	8.8
who (all) was there?	43.7
whole gang (collective pejorative)	82.8
whose children were there?	43.7
widow	63.3
wife	63.2
wild hog	35.9
wishbone	37.1
with milk	32.4
without	32.3
woke up	97.3
won't	58.5
woodpecker	59.3
wool	35.2
worn out	75.5
worry ("Don't...")	79.5
wound (noun)	78.1
wrapped	94.3
~~+~~write	100.5
year ago	5.2
years old ("He is three...")	5.1
yeast	45.5
yellow	45.7
yellow jacket	60A.7
yes (habitual affirmation)	91.3
yes, ma'm	91.4
yes, sir	91.4
yesterday	3.5
yolk	45.6
you (all) (nominative plural)	43.6
you and I	42.2
your aunt	67.9
your (y'all's) (genitive plural)	43.7
yours	43.4

Map 1: The Gulf Plains (shaded) in the Gulf States

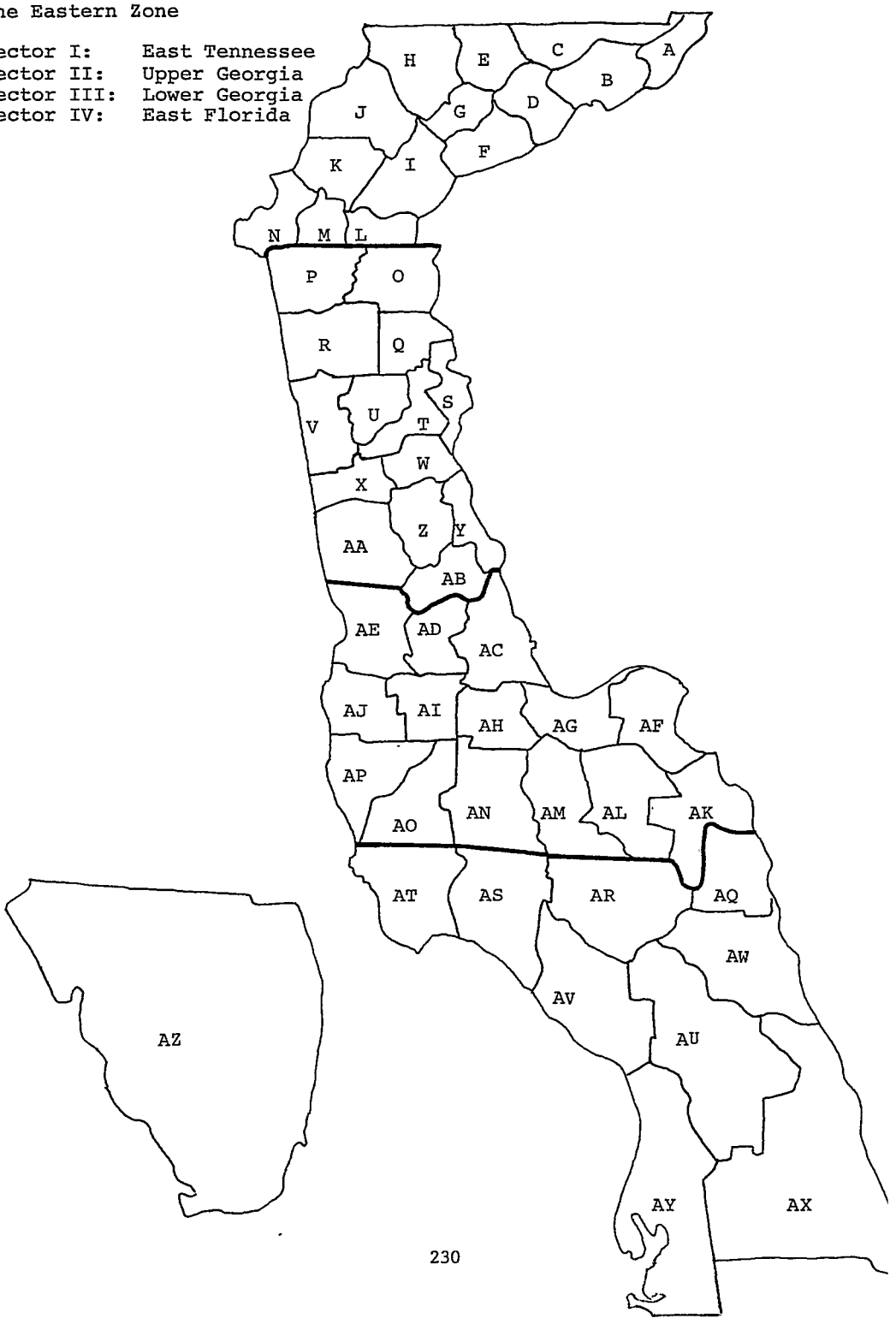


Map 2: The Zones of the LAGS Project



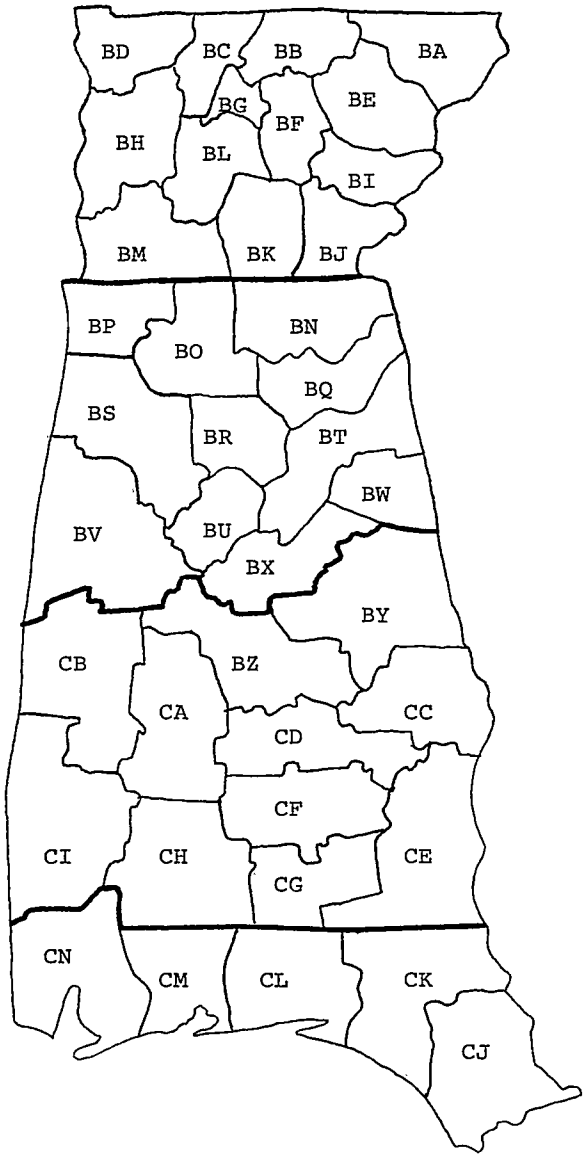
The Eastern Zone

Sector I: East Tennessee
Sector II: Upper Georgia
Sector III: Lower Georgia
Sector IV: East Florida



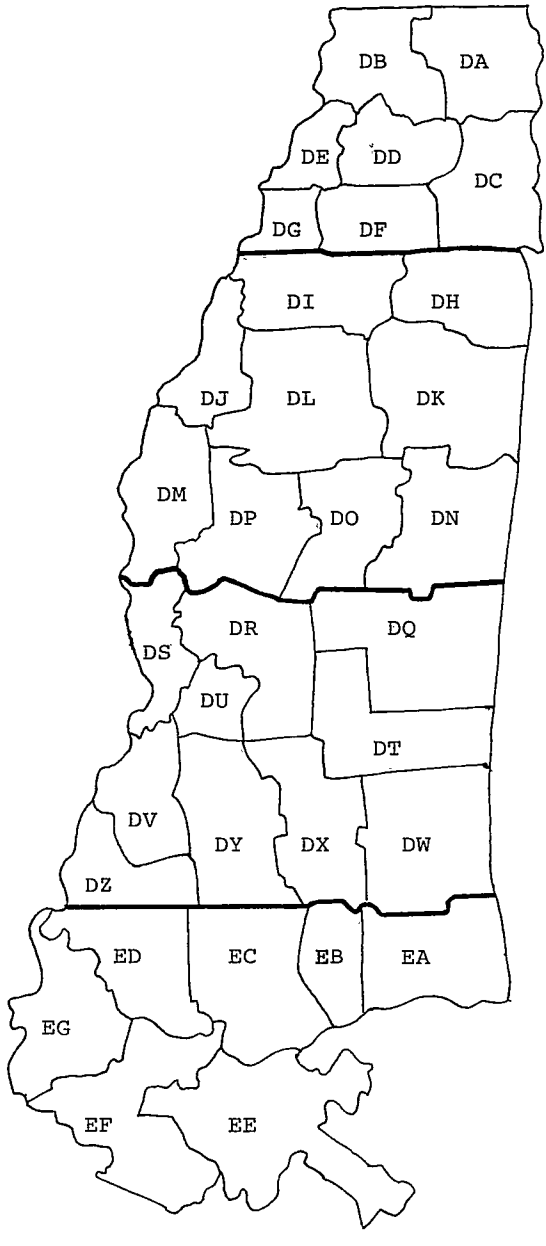
The East Central Zone

Sector V: Middle Tennessee
Sector VI: Upper Alabama
Sector VII: Lower Alabama
Sector VIII: Gulf Alabama and West Florida



The West Central Zone

Sector IX: West Tennessee
Sector X: Upper Mississippi
Sector XI: Lower Mississippi
Sector XII: Gulf Mississippi and East Louisiana



The Western Zone

Sector XIII: Arkansas
Sector XIV: West Louisiana
Sector XV: Northeast Texas
Sector XVI: Southeast Texas

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Eastern Zone

Sector I East Tennessee	Sector II Upper Georgia	Sector III Lower Georgia	Sector IV East Florida
A1 Johnson	035 Fannin	AC79 Houston	AQ130 Duval
A2 Carter	036 Gilmer	AC80 Pulaski	AQ131 Nassau
B3 Unicoi	037 Murray	AC81 Wilcox	AR132 Hamilton
B4 Washington	P38 Whitfield	AC82 Dooly	AR133 Suwannee
B5 Greene	P39 Catoosa	AC83 Crisp	AR134 Columbia
C6 Sullivan	P40 Walker	AD84 Macon	AR135 Baker
C7 Hawkins	P41 Dade	AD85 Schley	AR136 Union
C8 Hancock	Q42 Dawson	AD86 Sumter	AS137 Jefferson
D9 Cocke	Q43 Pickens	AE87 Marion	AS138 Madison
D10 Jefferson	Q44 Cherokee	AE88 Muscogee	AS139 Taylor
D11 Hamblen	R45 Gordon	AE89 Chattahoochee	AT140 Gadsden
E12 Grainger	R46 Bartow	AE90 Webster	AT141 Leon
E13 Union	R47 Floyd	AE91 Stewart	AT142 Wakulla
E14 Claiborne	R48 Chattooga	AF92 Appling	AU143 Alachua
F15 Sevier	S49 Forsyth	AF93 Pierce	AU144 Marion
F16 Blount	S50 Gwinnett	AF94 Jeff Davis	AU145 Sumter
G17 Knox	S51 Rockdale	AF95 Bacon	AU146 Lake
H18 Anderson	T52 DeKalb	AG96 Coffee	AV147 Lafayette
H19 Campbell	T53 Fulton	AG97 Ben Hill	AV148 Dixie
H20 Scott	U54 Cobb	AG98 Irwin	AV149 Gilchrist
I21 Monroe	U55 Douglas	AH99 Turner	AV150 Levy
I22 McMinn	U56 Paulding	AH100 Tift	AW151 Bradford
I23 Loudon	V57 Polk	AH101 Worth	AW152 Clay
J24 Roane	V58 Haralson	AI102 Lee	AW153 St. Johns
J25 Morgan	V59 Carroll	AI103 Dougherty	AW154 Putnam
J26 Cumberland	W60 Henry	AI104 Terrell	AW155 Flagler
K27 Meigs	W61 Clayton	AJ105 Calhoun	AX156 Volusia
K28 Rhea	W62 Fayette	AJ106 Randolph	AX157 Seminole
K29 Bledsoe	X63 Coweta	AJ107 Quitman	AX158 Orange
L30 Polk	X64 Heard	AJ108 Clay	AX159 Brevard
L31 Bradley	Y65 Butts	AK109 Camden	AX160 Polk
M32 Hamilton	Y66 Monroe	AK110 Brantley	AX161 Osceola
N33 Marion	Y67 Bibb	AK111 Charlton	AX162 Indian River
N34 Sequatchie	Z68 Lamar	AK112 Ware	AY163 Citrus
	Z69 Spalding	AL113 Atkinson	AY164 Hernando
	Z70 Upson	AL114 Clinch	AY165 Pasco
	Z71 Pike	AL115 Lanier	AY166 Pinelias
	AA72 Talbot	AM116 Echols	AY167 Hillsborough
	AA73 Meriwether	AM117 Lowndes	AY168 Manatee
	AA74 Troup	AM118 Berrien	AZ169 Hardee
	AA75 Harris	AM119 Cook	AZ170 Sarasota
	AB76 Peach	AN120 Brooks	AZ171 DeSoto
	AB77 Crawford	AN121 Colquitt	AZ172 Highlands
	AB78 Taylor	AN122 Thomas	AZ173 Okeechobee
		AO123 Mitchell	AZ174 St. Lucie
		AO124 Grady	AZ175 Martin
		AO125 Decatur	AZ176 Palm Beach
		AP126 Baker	AZ177 Glades
		AP127 Miller	AZ178 Charlotte
		AP128 Early	AZ179 Hendry
		AP129 Seminole	AZ180 Lee
			AZ181 Broward
			AZ182 Collier
			AZ183 Dade
			AZ184 Monroe

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East Central Zone

Sector V Middle Tennessee	Section VI Upper Alabama	Sector VII Lower Alabama	Sector VIII West Fla. & Gulf Ala.
BA185 Fentress	BN225 Jackson	BY252 Randolph	CJ290 Franklin
BA186 Pickett	BN226 Madison	BY253 Clay	CJ291 Liberty
BA187 Overton	BO227 Limestone	BY254 Chambers	CJ292 Gulf
BA188 Clay	BO228 Morgan	BY255 Tallapoosa	CJ293 Calhoun
BB189 Trousdale	BO229 Lawrence	BY256 Coosa	CK294 Bay
BB190 Macon	BP230 Lauderdale	BZ257 Elmore	CK295 Jackson
BB191 Sumner	BP231 Colbert	BZ258 Autauga	CK269 Washington
BC192 Robertson	BQ232 DeKalb	BZ259 Chilton	CK297 Holmes
BC193 Cheatham	BQ233 Marshall	BZ260 Bibb	CL298 Walton
BD194 Montgomery	BR234 Blount	CA261 Perry	CL299 Okaloosa
BD195 Stewart	BR235 Cullman	CA262 Dallas	CM300 Santa Rosa
BD196 Houston	BS236 Walker	CA263 Wilcox	CM301 Escambia
BE197 Putnam	BS237 Winston	CB264 Hale	CN302 Baldwin
BE198 Jackson	BS238 Marion	CB265 Marengo	CN303 Mobile
BE199 Smith	BS239 Franklin	CB266 Greene	
BE200 White	BT240 Cherokee	CB267 Sumter	
BE201 DeKalb	BT241 Etowah	CC268 Lee	
BF202 Wilson	BT242 St. Clair	CC269 Russell	
BF203 Rutherford	BU243 Jefferson	CC270 Macon	
BG204 Davidson	BV244 Tuscaloosa	CD271 Bullock	
BH205 Dickson	BV245 Pickens	CD272 Montgomery	
BH206 Humphreys	BV246 Fayette	CD273 Lowndes	
BH207 Hickman	BV247 Lamar	CE274 Barbour	
BH208 Perry	BW248 Cleburne	CE275 Henry	
BI209 Van Buren	BW249 Calhoun	CE276 Houston	
BI210 Warren	BX250 Talladega	CE277 Dale	
BI211 Cannon	BX251 Shelby	CE278 Geneva	
BJ212 Grundy		CF279 Pike	
BJ213 Coffee		CF280 Crenshaw	
BJ214 Franklin		CF281 Butler	
BK215 Moore		CG282 Coffee	
BK216 Lincoln		CG283 Covington	
BK217 Bedford		CH284 Escambia	
BK218 Marshall		CH285 Conecuh	
BL219 Williamson		CH286 Monroe	
BL220 Maury		CI287 Clarke	
BM221 Giles		CI288 Washington	
BM222 Lawrence		CI289 Choctaw	
BM223 Lewis			
BM224 Wayne			

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West Central Zone

Sector IX West Tennessee	Sector X Upper Mississippi	Sector XI Lower Mississippi	Sector XII Gulf Miss. & East La.
DA304 Henry	DH325 Tishomingo	DQ364 Kemper	EA401 Jackson
DA305 Benton	DH326 Prentiss	DQ365 Lauderdale	EA402 Harrison
DA306 Carroll	DH327 Alcorn	DQ366 Newton	EA403 George
DA307 Weakley	DH328 Tippah	DQ367 Neshoba	EA404 Stone
DB308 Gibson	DI329 Benton	DQ368 Leake	EB405 Hancock
DB309 Dyer	DI330 Marshall	DR369 Rankin	EB406 Pearl River
DB310 Obion	DI331 Tate	DR370 Madison	EC407 St. Tammany
DB311 Lake	DI332 DeSoto	DR371 Yazoo	EC408 Washington
DC312 Decatur	DJ333 Tunica	DS372 Warren	EC409 Tangipahoa
DC313 Hardin	DJ334 Quitman	DX373 Sharkey	ED410 Livingston
DC314 McNairy	DJ335 Coahoma	DS374 Issaquena	ED411 St. Helena
DC315 Chester	DK336 Itawamba	DT375 Clarke	ED412 East Feliciana
DC316 Henderson	DK337 Monroe	DT376 Jasper	ED413 East Baton Rouge
DD317 Madison	DK338 Chickasaw	DT377 Smith	ED414 West Feliciana
DD318 Crockett	DK339 Lee	DT378 Scott	EE415 St. Bernard
DD319 Haywood	DK340 Pontotoc	DU379 Hinds	EE416 Plaquemines
DE320 Tipton	DK341 Union	DV380 Claiborne	EE417 Orleans
DE321 Lauderdale	DL342 Calhoun	DV381 Jefferson	EE418 Jefferson
DF322 Hardeman	DL343 Grenada	DV382 Franklin	EE419 St. Charles
DF323 Fayette	DL344 Yalobusha	DW383 Wayne	EE420 Lafourche
DG324 Shelby	DL345 Tallahatchie	DW384 Greene	EF421 Terrebonne
	DL346 Lafayette	DW385 Perry	EF422 St. Mary
	DL347 Panola	DW386 Forrest	EF423 Assumption
	DM348 Sunflower	DW387 Jones	EF424 St. James
	DM349 Bolivar	DX388 Lamar	EF425 Ascension
	DM350 Washington	DX389 Marion	EF426 St. John the Baptist
	DN351 Lowndes	DX390 Covington	EG427 Iberia
	DN352 Noxubee	DX391 Jefferson Davis	EG428 St. Martin
	DN353 Winston	DX392 Simpson	EG429 Iberville
	DN354 Oktibbeha	DY393 Walthall	EG430 West Baton Rouge
	DN355 Clay	DY394 Pike	EG431 Pointe Coupee
	DO356 Choctaw	DY395 Lawrence	
	DO357 Webster	DY396 Lincoln	
	DO358 Montgomery	DY397 Copiah	
	DO359 Attala	DZ398 Amite	
	DP360 Holmes	DZ399 Wilkinson	
	DP361 Carroll	DZ400 Adams	
	DP362 Humphreys		
	DP363 Leflore		

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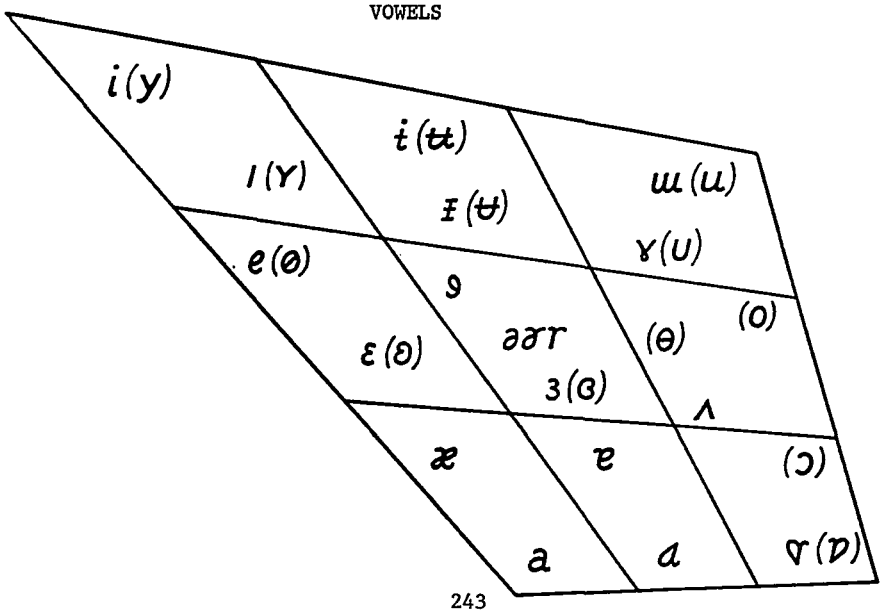
Western Zone

Sector XIII Arkansas	Sector XIV West Louisiana	Sector XV Northeast Texas	Sector XVI Southeast Texas
FA432 Clay	FJ480 East Carroll	FS519 Bowie	GA564 Brazoria
FA433 Greene	FJ481 West Carroll	FS520 Cass	GA565 Fort Bend
FA434 Randolph	FJ482 Madison	FS521 Red River	GA566 Wharton
FA435 Lawrence	FJ483 Morehouse	FS522 Morris	GA567 Matagorda
FA436 Sharp	FJ484 Richland	FS523 Titus	GB568 Jackson
FB437 Mississippi	FK485 Union	FS524 Franklin	GB569 Victoria
FB438 Crittenden	FK486 Claiborne	FS525 Camp	GB570 Calhoun
FB439 Craighead	FK487 Ouachita	FS526 Lamar	GB571 De Witt
FB440 Poinsett	FK488 Caldwell	FS527 Delta	GB572 Karnes
DB441 Cross	FK489 Lincoln	FS528 Hopkins	GB573 Goliad
FC442 Jackson	FK490 Jackson	FT529 Marion	GB574 Refugio
FC443 Independence	FK491 Bienville	FT530 Harrison	GB575 Bee
FC444 Woodruff	FL492 Tensas	FT531 Panola	GB576 Aransas
FC445 White	FL493 Franklin	FT532 Upshur	GC577 Live Oak
FD446 St. Francis	FL494 Concordia	FT533 Gregg	GC578 San Patricio
FD447 Lee	FL495 Catahoula	FT534 Rusk	GC579 Jim Wells
FD448 Phillips	FM496 Avoyelles	FU535 Wood	GC580 Nueces
FE449 Monroe	FM497 LaSalle	FU536 Rains	GC581 Kleberg
FE450 Prairie	FM498 Winn	FU537 Smith	GD582 Kenedy
FE451 Lonoke	FM499 Grant	FU538 Van Zandt	GD583 Willacy
FE452 Arkansas	FM500 Rapides	FU539 Cherokee	GD584 Cameron
FE453 Jefferson	FN501 St. Landry	FU540 Henderson	GD585 Hidalgo
FE454 Lincoln	FN502 Evangeline	FU541 Anderson	GE586 Brooks
FF455 Desha	FO503 Lafayette	FV542 Sabine	GE587 Jim Hogg
FF456 Chicot	FO504 Acadia	FV543 Shelby	GE588 Zapata
FF457 Drew	FO505 Vermilion	FV544 San Augustine	GE589 Starr
FF458 Ashley	EP506 Webster	FV545 Nacogdoches	GF590 Duval
FG459 Pulaski	EP507 Bossier	FV546 Angelina	GF591 Webb
FG460 Grant	FP508 Caddo	FV547 Tyler	
FG461 Saline	FP509 Red River	FV548 Polk	
FG462 Garland	FP510 DeSoto	FW549 Newton	
FG463 Hot Spring	FQ511 Natchitoches	FW550 Jasper	
FG464 Dallas	FQ512 Sabine	FW551 Orange	
FG465 Clark	FQ513 Vernon	FX552 Hardin	
FH466 Cleveland	FQ514 Allen	FX553 Jefferson	
FH467 Bradley	FR515 Jeff. Davis	FX554 Chambers	
FH468 Calhoun	FR516 Beauregard	FX555 Liberty	
FH469 Ouachita	FR517 Calcasieu	FY556 Houston	
FH470 Union	FR518 Cameron	FY557 Trinity	
FI471 Pike		FY558 San Jacinto	
FI472 Howard		FY559 Madison	
FI473 Sevier		FY560 Walker	
FI474 Nevada		FY561 Montgomery	
FI475 Hempstead		FZ562 Harris	
FI476 Little River		FZ563 Galveston	
FI477 Columbia			
FI478 Lafayette			
FI479 Miller			

CONSONANTS

	BILABIAL	LABIODENTAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATALIZED ALVEOLAR	RETROFLEX	ALVEOLO-PALATAL	PALATO-ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	RETRACTED PALATAL	ADVANCED VELAR	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOPS 55	p b		t̪ d̪	t d	ʈ ɖ	ʈ ɖ			c ɟ	c̆ ɟ̆	k̆ ɡ̆	k g	ʔ
NASALS 56	m	ɱ	n̪	n	ɳ	ɳ			ɲ	ɲ̆	ŋ̆	ŋ	
LATERALS 57			l̪	l ɭ ɬ	ɭ	ɭ			ʎ				
FLAPS 58			ɾ̪	ɾ ɽ		ɽ							
FRICATIVES 59	φ β	f v	s̪ z̪ θ̪ ð̪	s z ɹ r ʀ	ʂ ʐ	ʂ ʐ	ʃ ʒ ʃ ʒ	ɕ ʑ	ç ʝ	ç̆ ʝ̆	x̆ ɣ̆	x ɣ	ɦ ɦ̞ ħ ʕ
FRICTIONLESS CONTINUANTS 60	(ɥ) (w)	ʋ		ɹ		ɻ			j ɥ	j̆ ɥ̆	ẅ	w	

VOWELS



APPENDIX VI

PERSONAL DATA SHEET

LINGUISTIC ATLAS OF THE GULF STATES PROJECT: PERSONAL DATA SHEET

Interviewer_____ Date _____

Community _____ County_____ State_____

Informant _____ Address _____

Birthplace _____ Age ____ Sex ____ Race _____

Occupation _____ Religion _____

Education (schools attended, last grade completed, literacy)

Social contacts (working companions, business contacts, close friends, church, clubs, travel)

Parents' birthplace: Mother _____ Father _____

Parents' education: Mother _____ Father _____

Parents' occupation: Mother _____ Father _____

Maternal grandparents (birthplace, education, occupation, sources of earlier ancestry)

Paternal grandparents (birthplace, education, occupation, sources of earlier ancestry)

Spouse's age _____ Race _____ Religion _____ Education _____

Social contacts _____

Parental ancestry:

Community sketch:

Character sketch: